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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## SOCIALIST COMMENT

### NOTES ON MEN AND THINGS OF THE WEEK

**German Socialists Becoming Wary—A Suggestion to the St. Louis Civic League—Taft's One True Remark—N. Y. Volkzeitung's Crooked Move Ditched.**

Sweden, convulsed by a titanic and historic struggle, Barcelona, with its streets still ruddy with the blood spilt in another equally titanic and historic struggle, what is the news that now comes from the governing quarters of that country and that city? What is engaging the attention of the elite of the two? In Sweden the Rigsdag is to consider a bill "abolishing all grades of precedence," while in Barcelona the Esperanto Congress is dribbling Esperanto dribble.

Is it an accident that the reception, tendered to the just organized Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Hamilton upon its first meeting on the 14th of this month, was tendered at the armory by the officers of two regiments? Nothing happens by accident. The military power is a necessary prop to the capitalist class. Without the physical force to enforce the exploitation of the workers which he carries on in the shop, the capitalist could not stand twenty-four hours.

Cause for joy are the multiplying evidences of our comrades in Germany beginning to weigh facts for themselves, and beginning not to accept unquestioned the information that comes to them from Socialist party sources. In its issue of last August 7, the Berlin "Vorwaerts" had an article that obviously comes from some S. P. hand in which the Moyer-Mahoney Western Federation of Miners is lamely made out to be about to "enter the Socialist column." A few years ago the article would have been headed with headlines to match. The article is now appropriately headed with an interrogation: "A Change Coming Over the American Labor Movement?" Still more recently, in a letter from Kautsky, published in "The Call" of the 13th of this month, in answer to an application for funds, Kautsky wisely says he "does not know how matters stand respectively with 'The Call,' meaning whether the unions are with 'The Call.' Wise are both doubts.

Of all droll sights is there any to match the sight of the sordid free trade organ, the New York "Evening Post," posing as a moralist in the present controversy on who found the Pole, and denouncing the "newspaper scope, Chautauqua profits, and book royalties" as manifestations of "sordidness"? There is nothing more sordid than the Protectionist "to American labor," who pockets all the protection—unless it be free trader "for the benefit of American labor," who would alone profit by the freedom through reduced wages, hence larger profits.

"If that fellow in Washington had my job and I had his job, I wonder if I would make as big a mess of his as he would of mine." Harriman is recorded to have said after one of Roosevelt's bumptious moments. The telling quip is instinct with the contempt which the capitalist has for the representatives he puts into office for the purpose of keeping down the subject class.

Inquiry is about to be made by Postmaster General Hitchcock into the cost of carrying the mail. Look out, Letter Carriers! Such inquiries are apt to result in findings to the effect that it costs to carry the mails more than should be, and that retrenchment should be made in the wages of the employees—of course not in the huge sums bestowed upon the railroad companies. There have been of late so many honeyed speeches bestowed upon the letter carriers by the capitalist politicians that it looks bad for the men. These politicians are like vampires. Whenever they blow sweet, look out!

Free, gratis and for nothing the St. Louis Civic League—which is arranging for the entertainment of at least one thousand American Mayors in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of

the incorporation of the city, and for their discussing "the best ideas on how to run cities"—is hereby recommended to consider as "the best idea" the abolition of all the existing Mayors. The election of any official on a platform, that ignores the necessity of abating the nuisance of capitalism, is presumptive evidence of the gentleman's unfitness.

President Taft made one great hit in the initial speech of his 13,000 mile tour around the United States, delivered in Boston. Referring to the Minnesota Governor Johnson's call to unify the West against the East, the President said: "The attempt to make a cleavage between New England and the East, on one side, and the West on the other, will be found to be so utterly hopeless as to confound those who propose it." This was a bull's-eye. Every section of the country needs all others, and all need each—a pivotal point with the oncoming Industrial Republic, and Industrial Unionism, the necessary precursor of the Industrial or Socialist Republic.

The Seattle "Socialist" of the 11th of this month announces the definite split in the S. P. of Washington, and the definite formation of two Socialist parties. One of these, which the "Socialist" is the organ of, is recognized by the Courts whether the two contending factions carried their sores, but is repudiated by the S. P. National Committee; the other, recognized by the S. P. National Committee, will, according to the "Socialist," have to take another name, and is called a middle class party. One cannot avoid looking at the squabble as a case of the pot calling the kettle black. The real trouble in Washington is a disease that is gnawing at the vitals of the whole S. P. The disease is called in the political materia medica "Hurrh!"

The Swedish Socialist Labor Party organ, "Arbetaren" has good cause to bring a libel suit against the Volkzeitung Corporation. In its issue of the 16th the "Volkzeitung" refers to "Arbetaren" as "our brother-paper." That in the same article in which it tries to cheat its readers with the false information that the "Arbetaren" is a Socialist party paper, the "Volkzeitung" lifts from the Daily People of the previous day a despatch from Stockholm without, of course, giving The People credit,—that is too common a practice with S. P. "journalism" to cause surprise.

A heavy coating of brass must cover the cheeks of the officials in the State Department, from the Secretary of State down, who are getting ready to protest to certain European governments against their "connivance at the importation of immoral women into the United States." Connivance with whom? With the Man in the Moon?

That it happens to crooked moves what happens to lies, the worthies of the "New Yorker Volkzeitung" are finding out. The Lie, as is known, may start with long legs, but eventually wears them out, and much as it may have outstripped Truth at first, it is finally ditched. So with crooked moves. In its issue of the 2nd of this month, the "Volkzeitung" admits that "it went so far in its defense of the A. F. of L. that it accepted the risk of a split in the Socialist Movement of America in order to prevent a split in the Trades Union Movement of the land, and to keep up the Federation of Labor as the united body of American Unionism." There lies the wide traveled Crooked Move ditched. The body in whose behalf the Volkzeitung Corporation split the Socialist Movement of the land in twain is the body that the Berlin "Vorwaerts" correctly refers to in its issue of last August 8, as "dead wood" (duerres Holz).

Says Charles M. Schwab, steel king: "Any young man can succeed in any line of endeavor if he will do that which is given him to do a little bit better than the average." No doubt it was "doing that which was given him to do a little bit better than the average" which led Schwab's friend and associate Wm. Ellis Corey to get a divorce from his wife to marry a stage light, and which caused his divorced wife to declare that a rich man's house was no place for a young boy.

The Hamilton, Canada, "Herald" of September the 8th weeps tears of sadness at the derision with which Gomper's "message of friendship and good will" was received at the Inter-

## OHIO BEHIND NEVADA

Judge George F. Robinson's order, granted in Ohio on the 7th of this month to the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company restraining the Warner and Acorn Lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of Youngstown from exercising the right of picketing, is being hailed by Republican and Democratic papers as a move that will break the back of the strike, and as the most effective move yet devised against the Unions.

Fudge! As to "breaking the back of the Strike" and of Unionism—the weapon has not yet been forged, or is at all forgeable, that will accomplish the feat. The path along which Capitalism is whipped by the Law of Progress, and of its own existence, leads straight to Unionism, ever more perfect Unionism; and does so to the orchestration of the Strike until that final "Strike" which will lock-out the capitalist class, and inaugurate the Industrial or Socialist Republic.

As to the Ohio move being "the most effective yet devised" against the Unions and strikes, Ohio is away behind Nevada, Nevada leading by many a length.

The "Nevada move" is to point a gun at the picket-man. If the picket-man is a craven he will make tracks for home—and that ends the picketing. If the picket-man is not a craven, and is, besides, aware of his civic rights, he, being assailed with a dead-end weapon, will on the spot shoot

national Congress of Labor that recently met in Paris. The Hamilton "Herald" has yet to learn that the world moves. Time was when the Gomperies were feared in Europe and called "comrades." That time is gone. European Labor is no longer deceived by false reports from America. European Labor has begun to put two and two together. It knows that European capitalists have sent committees to America to learn how the American capitalists manage to squeeze such large profits out of Labor. European Labor knows that the man under whose wings such squeezings are practised can have only a Civic Federation message of Squeeze to carry. Of course they turned the cold shoulder upon his "message."

Commendable is the plan of a number of Unions in this city to organize an International Labor Aid Confederation for the object of affording "immediate material and moral aid to the workers of every nation in their economic and political struggle against the ruling class." It is to be hoped that these good intentions do not dash themselves against the A. F. of L. practice, so often indulged in by A. F. of L. constituents, of passing resolutions offering their services to the President to fight some foreign nation, every time there is a prospect of such a fight.

Prohibitionism in Georgia, originally intended to promote the interests of the bourgeois, is resulting in intensifying the competition that already existed among one of their branches—the liquor dealers branch. According to a revenue officer: "Since Prohibition went into effect, moonshine stills have sprung up in nearly every county in Georgia."

Now that the horrors of the McKees Rocks steel plans are uncovered, free trade papers are coming out with arguments to prove that "the pretence of the tariff being devised in behalf of the laborer is buncombe, pure and simple." True. Yet these same free traders are either silent as the tomb, or loud screechers against the workers in such "unprotected" industries as the building and railroad trades, whenever these workers go on strike against the iniquitous treatment they are subjected to. Buncombe, pure and simple, is all capitalist affection for labor, especially in the matter of taxation.

The "reform forces" of the city having selected seven names of goodies from whom the choice of the goodliest is to be made, and the name of one Robert W. De Forest appearing among the seven, Mr. William M. Ivins, known to fame as a redoubtable reformer, said he was glad to see that Mr. De Forest was being considered. De Forest was his idea of the candidate, just the kind of a man that Mr. Ivins would take his "coat and hat off and work for night and day." De Forest is the general counsel for the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the road upon which there were recently so many serious accidents on account of "retrenchments," riffs of employees being removed and more work piled on those who were kept.

Not infrequently we get communications reading: "Someone handed me a copy of your paper and I want to know more about it." Pass your paper along when read.

dead the limb of banditism that assails him; whereupon he is arrested, and indicted, and convicted, and hanged, or locked up in the penitentiary, all done strictly according to rules and regulations of the buccaneers' log-book called "Law" under Capitalism,—and that, likewise, ends the picketing.

Unquestionably, in point of swiftness the "Ohio move" cannot hold a candle beside the "Nevada move"; nor yet in point of deftness and neatness; nor yet in point of effectiveness—for a time—but only for a time.

Even the "Nevada move"—how much more so the "Ohio move"—is but a manoeuvre of Capitalism that superior counter-manoevres will out-flank and out-general, finally routing the manoeuvrers' horse, foot and dragoons.

## MASS. S. L. P.

### MEETS IN STATE CONFERENCE AND NOMINATES TICKET.

Moritz Ruther for Governor—Address Issued to Wage Earners of the State—Endorses Resolution to Support Sweden's Strikers—Calls Upon Membership to Agitate for S. L. P. Press.

Boston, September 11.—The Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts at a conference just held nominated a full state ticket and issued the below address to the wage earners throughout the state. For Governor, Moritz E. Ruther of Holyoke, has been nominated. Lawrence Yates of New Bedford is the choice for Lieutenant Governor.

The address to the voters follows:

Again the time has come to cast your vote at the State elections. And again, as on previous occasions, you are called upon by various political parties to register your choice on behalf of the candidates representing such parties.

At no time in the history of American political institutions has it been more necessary than at present for the working class, not alone of Massachusetts, but of the entire country, to arouse and carefully consider their miserable conditions. It must consider these as a class and attempt, at least, to attack the evil at the root.

It is a significant fact that as this election approaches we find the masses of this country in a state of apathy seldom before witnessed. This apathy exists despite the fact that from the press, pulpit and political platform, a constant stream of information, concerning the ill and suffering of the working class, reaches the ears of all. But the information is looked upon by the workers with an air of indifference and a sense of helplessness, which is due to the fact that they are in a divided and unorganized state upon both the political and the industrial field.

The apathy on the part of the workers to-day is not to be wondered at when we consider that after worshipping different political idols and issues they find that all their efforts have been expended in vain and they are worse off than before. As long as the workers shall continue their agitation in support of questions such as tariff, income or inheritance taxes, national or municipal ownership reforms, or prohibition, and leave the cause of all evils untouched,—the private ownership of the tools of production, which spells robbery at the work shops,—so long will they remain in their misery and continued apathy and indifference. This is a condition into which reformers of all shades must eventually and inevitably land. It is the result of tinkering with a social order which, like a building rotten with age, is only fit to be torn down.

The reformer, in his attempt to reform or repair, meets with defeat. The results he obtains can be likened to the results obtained by the application of a mustard plaster to a wooden leg.

Despite even the seeming of unity on the part of a number of workers in the last national campaign, the leading representative of Capitalism was triumphantly elected, with an immense majority.

On the industrial field strikes are invariably defeated, and conditions have become so bad that even the unorganized are compelled to go on strike, as for instance the workers at the Pressed Steel Car Company's plant at McKees Rocks,

Pennsylvania. There, conditions were proven to be so bad, that no workers anywhere in the world, not even in darkest Russia, were compelled to work under like conditions.

Illustrations could plentifully be given, fellow workers, but the Socialist Labor Party asks you: What are you going to do about it? Are you going to remain idle while these conditions exist, or are you going to act in keeping with that revolutionary element of your class which down through the ages has been the lever of progress?

The Socialist Labor Party has no reform to offer you. We maintain that the present social order has outlived its usefulness, and like the old worn out shoe, must not, as reformers attempt to do, be patched up, but it must be discarded. This implies organization, and this in turn implies education.

The Socialist Labor Party, the vanguard of the American Labor Movement, calls upon the workers of this State to join us in this campaign and present our immediate and only demand, the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. We call upon the workers to organize with that aim and object in view and to organize on the political as well as on the industrial field. On the political field to hasten the inevitable destruction of capitalism, and on the industrial field to rear and construct the foundation of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

Vote the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The full ticket named by the conference is as follows:

For Governor—Moritz E. Ruther, Holyoke.  
For Lieutenant-Governor—Lawrence Yates, New Bedford.  
For Secretary of State—Henry C. Hess, Boston.  
For Treasurer—David Craig, Milford.  
For Auditor—Jeremiah P. McNally, Salem.  
For Attorney-General—John A. Fredrikson, Quincy.

The State Conference was held at 604 Washington street, Boston, Sunday September 5. Thomas F. Brennan was elected temporary chairman and John Sweeney temporary secretary. J. P. McNally was elected sergeant at arms. The temporary officers were afterward made permanent.

Several letters, on the available names for the State ticket, and a telegram from New Bedford, sending greetings to the conference were read. State Secretary Sweeney rendered his report for the State Executive Committee.

Committees were elected as follows: Platform and Resolutions, F. Houtenbrink, Brennan and Reimer; Party Press, Hogan, Rigby, and Maher; Ways and Means, Mulligan, Hess and A. Houtenbrink; Auditors, Craig, Oatley and Schlueter.

National Executive Committee member Reimer rendered his report of the two sessions of the N. E. C. held this year in New York City. Reimer also reported on the agitational tour of four weeks conducted through the State. Successful meetings were held and much literature sold on the road.

The Committee on Platform submitted the address to the workmen given above. It was adopted along with the national platform to be issued as a State leaflet for the campaign.

On Party Press the following resolution was passed:

Whereas, With the growth of capitalism, the servility of the press, which the owners of large industries through their advertising dominate, becomes more and more marked; and

Whereas, The press of the S. L. P.

stands alone of all the representatives of political parties, untrammelled of capitalist influence; and

Whereas, The American working class must receive the message, and can only as a mass be reached by the press; therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon all who have the welfare of Socialism at heart to redouble their efforts toward making the S. L. P. press known to the working class and by the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets and books.

The Committee on Party Press urged that Sections supply themselves with Party press prepaid subscription cards and literature, and push the propaganda.

The Committee on Ways and Means, recommended the adoption of state subscription lists, same to be sent out to Sections and members at large to raise moneys for the campaign. Funds are to be divided between the Sections and the State Executive Committee.

The formation of educational classes to develop speakers for the Socialist Labor Party was recommended.

The Auditing Committee reported having found the books correct and verified the quarterly report.

The resolution adopted at the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, S. L. P., at its meeting on September 1, calling upon members and sympathizers of the S. L. P. in America to render financial assistance in support of the General Strike in Sweden, was endorsed.

Twenty thousand copies of the State ticket and address to the workmen of Massachusetts were ordered printed. The conference after discussion under good and welfare, adjourned.

John Sweeney.

### SPECIAL TO CHICAGO READERS.

We understand that there has been a re-numbering of the streets in Chicago which is at present complicating mail delivery. Chicago readers whose addresses have been changed in anyway should notify us at once, giving both the old and the new numbers.

### WEEKLY PEOPLE.

#### GERMAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS

Party Reports Big Increase in Membership.

Leipzig, September 13.—At the first day's session of the congress of the Social Democracy Delegates Gerisch and Molkenbuhr read their report on the Party's activity during the year just elapsed. They showed an increase in the Party's membership of 45,973, the rolls now holding 633,309 names; 62,259 of which are women. Eleven new district organizations were added during the year, there now being only 20 election districts where no Party organization exists. In fifteen by-elections during the year for seats in the Reichstag, the vote increased in these districts from 74,636, the 1907 figure, to 76,832. In spite of these gains in votes, the number of Socialist representatives in state and city bodies has been decreased by means of juggling with the election laws.

In regard to the activity of the Reichstag deputies, Ledebour supplemented his report with those of Gerisch and Molkenbuhr concerning the activity of the party's executive; he laid special stress upon the incapability of the bourgeois parties and their lack of good will to extend parliamentary rights at the cost of the personal regime.

The convention demanded a more equitable districting of the electorate, in order to do away with the unfair advantages of the country districts over the large voting population of the cities. A strong demand is to be made in the Party's campaigns in the future for the re-establishment of three-year terms for the Reichstag, as was the system until 1887, when the Reichstag, in collusion with the Bundesrath, changed the term of Reichstag members to five years.

The legal status created by the passage of the imperial law on Combinations (a law regulating organization rights and obligations) has made it advisable for the Social Democratic Party to change its form of organization, in order to be in keeping with the law and derive therefrom the fullest possible advantage.

### DEATHS BY STARVATION.

Albany, September 19.—Starvation, suicide and violence were responsible for 913 of the 11,199 deaths in New York State during July, according to the monthly bulletin of the State Department of Health, just issued. The suicides number 145. The larger number of those who killed themselves used firearms. The next largest number used poison.

## AGAINST SOCIALISM

### TAFT PRAISES CRAFT UNIONS FOR HOSTILE STAND.

Another Nail Driven in Coffin of Gomper's Separation of Labor by Praise of Capitalism's Chief Representative—Fears Socialist Spirit of European Unions.

Chicago, September 17.—Another nail in the coffin of the American Separation of Labor was driven here last night by Wm. H. Taft, at present chief representative of capitalism in this country, when he praised the craft unions for upholding the "leaders" who had "set their faces like flint against the propaganda of Socialism," with which labor unionism in France and England was more and more imbued. Thus the statement of the Wall Street Journal, that the A. F. of L. was "the chief bulwark against Socialism in this country" was repeated from a still more resounding tribunal for the working class to hear.

Taft, in part, said:

"I know there is an element among employers of labor and investors of capital which is utterly opposed to the organization of labor. I cannot sympathize with this element in the slightest degree. I think it is a wise course for laborers to unite to defend their interests. It is a wise course for them to provide a fund by which, should occasion arise and strikes or lockouts follow, those who lose their places may be supported pending an adjustment of the difficulties.

"I think the employer who declines to deal with organized labor and to recognize it as a proper element in the settlement of wage controversies is behind the times. There is not the slightest doubt that if labor had remained unorganized wages would be very much lower.

"Nothing I have said or shall say should be construed into an attitude of criticism against or unfriendliness to those workmen who for any reason do not join unions. Their right to labor for such wages as they choose to accept is sacred.

"There is one thing to be said in respect to American trades unionism that its critics are not generally alive to. In France the trades unionism are intensely Socialistic. Indeed, in some of the late difficulties it was plain that there was a strong anarchistic feeling among them and that they opposed all authority of any kind. It is also plain that the tendency toward Socialism in England and England's trade unionism is growing stronger and stronger.

"I need not point out the deplorable results in this country if trades unionism became a synonym for Socialism. Those who are now in active control, the Federation of Labor and all the great railroad organizations, have set their faces like flint against the propagandism of Socialistic principles."

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### WEEKLY PEOPLE.

#### BRIDGEPORT SOC. LAB. PARTY.

Puts up Full City Ticket and Starts Campaign—Successful Agitation.

Bridgeport, Conn., September 14.—The Socialist Labor Party is in the field here with a full city ticket. John Riggs has been chosen as its candidate for Mayor. The other nominees are George Forth, City Clerk; Thos. Farren, Treasurer; A. Hedlin, Collector, and A. MacDonald, Town Clerk. Twelve candidates for Aldermen have been named, three for Sheriffs and three for Selectmen.

The first agitation meeting of the party held here last Wednesday, proved rousing and successful. Charles J. Mercer was the speaker, and his topic was "The Condition of the Working Class, Present and Future." A large audience greeted him as he opened his remarks, and paid the closest attention throughout. Mercer is a brilliant speaker and scored many telling points.

At the meeting's close many present contributed liberally to the campaign fund of the party. Fifteen books were sold, and two members were secured.

The Bridgeport organization of the Socialist Labor Party is eager to get down to work to spread the agitation of the S. L. P.



# ANSWERS AN EDITOR

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY WOMAN POINTS OUT INCONSISTENCIES AND EVILS OF CAPITALISM.

The below is part of an article which was written by Fannie Chernin, an S. L. P. member of El Paso, Texas, answering a long argument against Socialism in the "El Paso Herald." Miss Chernin's article appeared in the El Paso Herald of July 28.

Throughout the pages of history we find the social systems which preceded the present one consisted of two classes, the oppressors and the oppressed. That, in spite of our modern civilization and tendency toward altruism, there exist to-day, and in this country as elsewhere, oppressors and oppressed, would be folly to deny.

History relates the uprising of the oppressed against their oppressors. To-day similar occurrences take place. Classes have run to their last ends.

There is no class lower in the social scale than the proletariat of all countries (United States second to none), and when their emancipation will be effected which is inevitable in the face of modern economic determinism, there will exist no motive for base incentives, detrimental to their fellowmen.

The mission of history is to point out the cause of an effect and the results attained. This is the only interpretation of history that is worth while and which should be embraced by conscientious students.

That the position of the working class is growing steadily worse, is another truth defying proof (if any) to the contrary.

Capitalism has attested its economic and sociologic bankruptcy by hurling the country into a financial and industrial panic unparalleled in the annals of capitalist "progress."

Who will deny that more discontent and social unrest exist to-day on a larger scale than several years ago?

Who will deny that if wages are high the necessities of life have risen in proportion and over?

Who will deny that, in spite of shorter hours, machinery has been introduced intensifying labor, thus counteracting in the majority of instances the virtue of shorter hours? And further, these gigantic labor saving machines displace many workers, and the result is an army of unemployed.

Apologists of the capitalistic mode of production should please take note that the law of nature will not tolerate the hanging on of a system that has outgrown its usefulness. Your apologies, which have for their purpose the moulding of public opinion, may retard and endanger the ultimate triumph of practical Socialism, but you cannot expunge the principle.

Capitalists and their spokesmen would have us believe that the conditions of the workers are getting better and better. Much of this is based on nefarious statements.

Conditions in this country, as well as in all other industrially developed countries, stand accused of the pitiable sight of workers marching in thousands on the streets and demonstrating their desire to work if given an opportunity. While they waste their energy in seeking for work in vain, those who are holding positions are justly in fear lest this reserved unemployed army be willing to take their jobs for less pay.

To see the workers in such a plight is especially gratifying to the employing class, as it renders them powerful to dictate terms to the workers. This is slavery and practically exists to-day. The worker has nothing to sell but his labor power, and when necessity forces him to sell it and submit to unjust terms, he is a slave, and therefore rightly has been coined the word, "the labor market."

You hear of the cotton market—wheat market—and also of the human labor market. The difference that exists to-day between the chattel slave of Lincoln's day and the wage slave now is the master, run after the chattel slave, whereas the wage slave runs in search of a master and voluntarily sells himself. The wage system covers a multitude of sins. Under that cover was hatched modern slavery.

Further we hear of these workers forced into idleness starving in sight of plenty. Years ago, when famine afflicted various countries, such calamities were natural results of failure in crops; but to-day, what does it mean?

You have probably passed through a period of what is called "hard times" or a crisis. The generally tough time of the worker is usually much worse at such periods. Do you know what causes them? They are caused by the fact that the workers produce more wealth (taking on the form of commodities) for the capitalist than he can dispose of. Then the capitalist says: "I will close up my factory until this pile of commodities goes down. The worker can starve in the meanwhile, if he can't find another

capitalist to exploit him."

Now if the people as a whole owned the capital of the nation and produced wealth for use and not for profit, can you imagine a state of affairs in which the people would be foolish enough to say: "We have produced too much food, therefore we must stop production and starve. We have produced too much clothing, we will have to go naked for awhile?"

Well, that is what is done to-day under capitalism. When the workers have produced more than the capitalist can get rid of he says, "Stop!" and the "overproduction" is his and so are the tools that produced it. Civilization is threatened by such a system.

Prevailing conditions show that the present distress of a multitude of unemployed cannot exist much longer. Nor are these conditions the outcome of overpopulation—as has been pointed out above—no more than "overpopulation" had to do with the driving out of England thousands of its sturdy sons and daughters, in order to make room for "sheep walks."

Capitalism is founded on the belief that its labor is based on something other than "working" the workers.

The better a fellow can concoct schemes, cheat and lie the bread out of the other fellow's mouth, the more is that business fellow recognized as a "capable" and "successful" competitor. And that is an exercise very much indulged in to the detriment of humanity.

In recent investigations into the conditions of child labor in the textile industries of the South—not made by Socialists, mind you, but by congressional and other investigations, it is shown that the natural order of things was reversed the wife and children being in the mill, while the husband and father, displaced by his own flesh and blood, has no work to do. He stays at home attending to the house and carries the dinner pail to his wife and children at the factory. And it is told us, Socialists would destroy the family. The accusers are like the robber who cries "Stop thief!" and joins in the chase raised by his cry.

The primary tenet embraced by capitalists, that the wealth produced is theirs by right of their work, is fallacious. What kind of work do they do?

Years ago when a man used his tools and worked to a finish the commodity he was justly entitled to all he received in exchange therefor. To-day we find gigantic labor saving machines owned by capitalists who hire men to work for them, creating the wealth. All the work the employers do, is work the workers and outdo his competitor.

The merchant's uppermost thoughts are to create profits. That the petty and other business concerns waste energy, time and money in advertising their commodities, is another fundamental fallacy which the trusts and their pinnacle of economic methods have proved.

Competition is a crime because it is waste. As before stated, the man who can concoct the basest scheme of cheating and lying is the successful competitor. Ye who prate of Christianity should denounce a method which takes the bread out of another man's mouth. Bestir yourselves! Christianity is yet to be brought about in practice. Remember the words "in practice." Yet competition in all its abominable phases is devoutly wished for by impractical beings.

The use of machinery (don't confound this with sewing machines) worked a great revolution in the lives of women. When a man was a handcraftsman it was part of the domestic duties of woman to spin, weave and sew, and she did many other things, such as make candles, soap, etc. These things which she had produced at home and for family use were next made in factories and much cheaper than could be done at home.

This change released a vast amount of labor power that had been used in home production, for home consumption, and made it available for capitalist exploitation. Woman now became a factory operative. But as machinery made easier the work that skill and strength had previously reserved to man, women who could not obtain employment at what had been female occupations, began to compete with man, and to do so had to undersell him to get the job. Thus woman became self supporting, as it is called.

Many men unthinkingly hate the women who compete with them. The revolution that was worked in women's lives was none of their making. Originally the workman had to earn wages high enough to enable him to support himself and family; but now that women and children can support themselves by com-

(Continued on page 6.)

## ULTIMA VERBA.

1. I am Capital, the King of the Earth.
2. I strut about with Falsehood, Envy, Covetousness, Deception and Murder as My body-guard. I carry war into cities and families. Wherever I pass I sow Rage, Despair, and Hopelessness.
3. I am the pitiless God. I feel well in the midst of strife and suffering. I butcher the wage-workers and do not spare even My chosen ones, the Capitalists.
4. The wage-worker is unable to tear himself from Me. When, like the hunted deer, he flees before Me beyond the mountains, he finds Me there ahead of him; when he, trying to escape Me, crosses the ocean, he finds Me waiting for him on the shores where he lands. The wage-worker is My prisoner; the earth is his prison.
5. I smite the Capitalists with a dull and stupid sense of well-being. My chosen ones are physical and mental enuchs. Their descendants run out into idiocy and impotence.
6. I pour over the Capitalist everything that is desirable, but I deprive him of every wish. I load his board with the most toothsome viands, but I deprive him of appetite. I throw upon his bed the handsomest and youngest of women, but their caresses are unable to fire his exhausted body. Everything in the world cloy him—tired and feelingless, he yawns away his life. He longs for nothing, yet is he afraid of death.
7. According as it may please Me, and in ways that man is unable to fathom, I fall upon My chosen ones, and hurl them down into the hell of wage-slavery.
8. Capitalists are My tools. I use them as a cat-of-a-thousand-tails to scourge the herd of the wage-workers with. I raise My chosen ones to the highest places in society, and yet I despise them.
9. I am the God, who moves the world and upsets the brains of men.
10. The poet of antiquity has prophesied the era of Capitalism. He sang: "As yet ill is mixed with good; yet the day will come when there will be neither family bonds, nor justice, nor virtue. Hades and Nemesis will re-ascend to heaven, and then there will be no cure for the ill."
- That day has come; like unto the ravenous sharks of the sea and the wild beasts of prey in the woods, men now devour one another without pity.
11. I laugh at the wisdom of man. "Work, and you will have plenty; work, and your locker will be filled," so saith ancient wisdom. But I say unto you: Work, and want and misery will be your faithful companions; work, and you will carry to the pawnbroker your last bit of furniture."
12. I am the God, who revolutionizes the nations of the world. I bend the mighty under my leveling yoke.
13. The day Socialism should come into power, that day would the supremacy of the God Capital be at end. That gloomy day, I, Capital, would cease to rule the world, I would become the slave of the workingman whom I hate. He would no longer kneel before Me, his own handiwork, he would rear himself erect on his feet, and, on earth, recognize only Nature as his sovereign mistress.
14. Woe will be Me and My chosen ones should that day ever dawn.

## SPECIAL TO CHICAGO READERS.

We understand that there has been a re-numbering of the streets in Chicago which is at present complicating mail delivery. Chicago readers whose addresses have been changed in anyway should notify us at once, giving both the old and the new numbers.

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# A WORD

## ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, I. W. W., TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THE WORKING CLASS IN GENERAL.

To the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World, greetings:—

The General Executive Board has, in conformity with the instructions of the Paterson Conference, elected H. Richter General Secretary-Treasurer to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Chas. H. Chase who found himself unable properly to attend to the requirements of the office.

All letters and business concerning the general organization, all money for dues, supplies, etc., should be addressed to: H. Richter, Hamtramck, Mich.

General Executive Board Member A. J. Francis having removed to Europe, he has tendered his resignation; also Wm. Glanz, whose age and ill health prevent him from active participation. Your General Executive Board in accordance with the provisions governing the matter, has initiated action to fill said vacancies.

For the G. E. B., I. W. W.,  
H. Richter, Sec.

### Address.

"The emancipation of the working class, must be the class conscious work of the working class."

The labor movement of America at the present makes manifest by its division, its principles and form of organization, that the dictum of the science of human progress, given to the world by Karl Marx in the above sentence, has been ignored. The penalty of this omission is the workers' weakness, inefficiency, and consequent misery and helplessness. The road that leads out of this rut, out of the tradition of the past, and brings the working class upon the highway of efficiency, and strength, is the self-imposed discipline of class consciousness, that grows from a knowledge of economic and social conditions, in which the wage worker must organize and fight for better conditions.

The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class over the product of labor, resulting in strikes, boycotts and lockouts, riots, and the sacrifice of the workers' limb and life, shaking capitalist society to its foundation, is the life process, in which and through which the human race is pushing forward, developing the conditions, the forces and institutions, which a higher plane of social existence requires.

Human progress, industrial and social, has reached a stage in capitalist society, where further progress is possible only, if man succeeds in consciously co-operating with the natural and social forces of evolution.

The wage-working class embraces all the useful and necessary elements in our present social system; it is the vital force, out of which must come the directive power needed in our present-day struggles, and that of future society.

The enlightened, class-conscious, working class must be the aim of all who are working for a better condition in life, recognizing that only an informed, self-disciplined labor organization can generate the conquering might needed to abolish wage slavery.

Recognition is needed of the vital fact that the struggle of labor, though acquiring the form of a fight for bread and butter, or leisure, is nevertheless mainly, a war for conditions that assure these demands.

Not as an aggregation of mendicants seeking alms, nor as a horde of slaves asking for mercy and a handout, but as a robbed, despoiled, productive, useful class, fighting the impostor and robber in every form to wrest from him their rightful heritage, the means of life, must be the workers' purpose of organizing.

This status imposes upon every member the obligation to acquire information by which to guide his words and actions; being a self-directing class movement, the schemes of great leaders and diplomacy are of little use. Only broad, open, education and organization can furnish the means to acquire the unity of thought and action which progress and the victory of the wage working class requires.

No longer the slave of whim and passion, the outgrowth of ignorance and superstition, the worker is free to work out his own emancipation, because the material conditions, intellectual and social, have developed, which make it possible, and no other force is available than the workers as a whole class. It becomes therefore mandatory for each worker to contribute his share to the success of his class, not according to his individual inclination or desires, but in conformity with the dictates of the conditions in which, and through which, the work-

ers must fight their way to freedom.

In capitalist society the worker's existence has a dual aspect; he is a human being and a wage-slave; a citizen and a commodity. This governs the principles as well as form of organization the worker needs.

As a human being and citizen, he must submit to the prevailing methods, through which present society governs its general affairs, political action, the ballot. Hence political education and organization by the workers is necessary. All are invited to promote the workers' class interest.

As a wage slave and a commodity, economic, industrial conditions determine his existence, and dictate the industrial organization that can promote and defend his interests of to-day and the requirements of the future. The integral industrial union is paramount to meet the needs of education, and organization of the working class. Its membership is limited to wage workers.

The link that connects the two organizations, is the worker himself. His class interest unites the separate activities for a common purpose, to fit and equip the worker to act as a unit, and so develop the power necessary to fulfill his historic mission, to conquer capitalist society, and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth, demanded by human progress and the wage workers' class interest.

The workers who assembled in Chicago, June 27, 1905, gathered there obedient to the forces indicated before, to organize the economic organization of the wage-working class.

Aided by previous efforts in the same direction, and the experience gained, the work of that convention brought into existence the Industrial Workers of the World.

The preamble of the organization, its declaration of principles, made evident that the participants were guided by the knowledge of our age, and succeeded in expressing the basic position and the form of industrial unionism. It established for all future times, the identity and characteristics of the Industrial Workers of the World:

1. The working class and the employing class have no common economic interest.
2. The class struggle will go on, until the workers organize, on the POLITICAL as well as on the industrial field as a class.
3. To take and hold through an economic organization the product of their labor.
4. That labor organizations animated by different principles, cannot help the workers; they are an aid to the capitalists, by paralyzing the power of the working class.
5. The form of industrial organization must be such, that its members at any time must give their support where needed, recognizing, that as a matter of fact, not of sentiment, an injury to one is an injury to all—a union of all the workers subdivided by industries or branches thereof.

That such a clear and distinct enunciation of its position aroused all the forces of capitalism against the organization, is natural. Its short history bears ample testimony, of the efforts of the capitalists, their hirelings and apologists, aided by their ally, popular ignorance, to compromise and wreck the organization; they failed. At the fourth convention, a concentrated, desperate and vicious attack was made to emasculate the organization, by tearing out the principle of political action, the force that supplies the revolutionary spirit that lifts the labor movement from the sphere of the dumb, brute animal up to the heights of intelligent human activity. The trickery and stupidity of that convention puts its upholders back to the pure and simple economic position, and outside of the Industrial Workers of the World. The effect of this treachery upon the organization was like a heavy frost upon a young plant; though it withered many leaves and branches, it did not reach the roots.

Capitalist oppression and growing intelligence among the working class supplies the nourishment for renewed growth and vigor. The temporary setback revealed our weakness, and indicated what it is necessary to eliminate in the future. No class-conscious worker has difficulty in determining what the offshoot from the tree of industrial unionism is that grew out of that fourth convention.

It is a plant for revenue only, for a few gentlemen whose intellectual ca-

(Continued on page 6.)

# CAMPAIGNING

## Some Suggestions As to How It May Be Made Most Profitable for the S. L. P.

In times past political campaigns were largely carried on in the open, the stump speaker being the chief medium for the dissemination of views and principles. In those days not everybody could read, and newspapers were few and dear, therefore the appeal had to be made to the mind through the ear. While meetings are still largely a feature of political campaigns they are no longer THE feature. The feature is now the printed page, the newspaper. The appeal is to the mind through the eye.

With the old parties there is a political season, that the word, campaign, signifying in the field, very well describes. During the campaign, a month or six weeks before election, they whoop it up, without rhyme or reason, appealing mainly to "patriotism," prejudice, and passion to carry the day.

The Socialist Labor Party is not a "campaign club." It is a propaganda organization. The election campaign is but an incident in the work of propaganda.

Of course the political atmosphere is more alive when there is so much beating of the air, but, along with its opportunities, it has the disadvantage of leading to confusion, as is no doubt intended.

The problem for the S. L. P. man is: How can he make his propaganda the most effective during campaign time?

In New York and other industrial centres the Party's efforts are redoubled at such times; more open air meetings are held than at other times. Are these meetings useful? That is the question.

More pamphlets are sold, not merely because it is campaign time, but for the reason that more effort than usual is made to sell them. Subscriptions do not come from open air meetings, although single copies of the Party papers may be readily disposed of at such times. This feature, selling Party papers at meetings, is one, however, that is not carried out as systematically nor as generally as it could and should be.

As said before, while meetings add zest to a campaign, it is doubtful if they have a very great effect upon the minds of the voters. The voter to-day is guided more by what he reads, than by what he hears, and, as a matter of fact, a hundred read to the one who attends any political meetings at all.

This would seem to indicate that our best work should be done in trying to reach the eye, rather than the ear of the workingman voter, without thereby neglecting the propaganda by word of mouth.

To prove that we have realized this, the propaganda through printed matter, we need but point to the efforts we have made to establish and maintain our press and literature agency.

With our present campaign methods all dependence is placed upon the speakers, and the speakers are few. The vast body of the membership looks on—sometimes does not do even that. Were all the members organized to carry on the propaganda, through the Party press and literature, this criticism would not hold. But the Party press and literature are merely incidents of the meetings, as at present conducted. The plan to-day seems to be to have the speaker tell all he knows about Socialism. In other words we keep trying to reach the people through the ear while it is through the eye that they are to be reached to-day.

So established a feature has this meeting business become that Sections who have no speakers bemoan the fact that they cannot "carry" on the campaign and the continual cry is "send us speakers!"

Now, I should like to suggest to all speakerless Sections that they never mind about the speakers. Let them intelligently and systematically organize what forces they have for a vigorous propaganda by means of the Party press. This is work at which all can do something, and there need be no on-lookers.

Let us put it this way: Say that a shifting audience of 100 hear a speaker at an open air meeting and a dozen pamphlets are sold. The main result is the sale of the pamphlets, as they leave something tangible by which the

purchaser can connect with the Party institutions should he have the desire. But how often is the desire awakened? It is a doubtful question. I should say seldom by one pamphlet.

On the other hand, it is not so difficult a task for a live Section to reach a dozen men, and secure them as readers for the Party press, insuring a weekly visitor to them from headquarters. This cannot fail to produce better results. As a matter of fact the Party's strength is, not where the most open air meetings are held, but where its press has the largest lists of readers. And this, in turn, makes profitable the only kind of meetings that are such: those held indoors, where a connected and concrete discourse can be made.

To sum up: let those who wish to, and can, go on with their open air meetings but where the open air meetings cannot be held try the plan of propaganda as suggested and see if it doesn't pan out.

J. H.

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# Woman's Suffrage

## An Address Delivered by DANIEL DE LEON

Under the Auspices of the Socialist Women of Greater  
New York.

Mary Papelsky, Presiding.

COOPER UNION, MAY 8, 1909.

### THE SUFFRAGE.—CONTINUED.

A manifestation of another order, and to which attention cannot be too strongly called, was the appearance of women among the Ruling Class. As you will remember, when the primal communal society was first split into classes, Woman took her place in the lower, the class of the ruled, along with those males, who, like herself, were physically disqualified to wield the Iron Tool. As you will remember, the characteristic of the Ruling Class then was strength to wield the Iron Tool. As you may judge, it was not property that imparted power to rule; it was power to rule, because of exclusive capacity to render needed social service, that imparted property. A Ruling Class makes its first appearance upon the stage of history as a useful service-rendering minority. It is in this capacity that the Ruling Class, down to the bourgeois revolution, assumes and becomes owner of the necessities for production, and, as a consequence, of the wealth produced. Sole capacity personally to wield the needed or leading tool of its times is the foundation of a Ruling Class from its inception and down to the bourgeois revolution. With the advent of the bourgeois revolution the foundation is radically changed. Property ceases to be the attribute of rule; rule becomes the attribute of property. The reason is obvious—the radical change wrought in the tool of production, coupled with the consequences thereof, altered social conditions. As Marx tersely put it: "It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist." The capitalist does no manner of useful work; he renders no manner of social service; he could not, if he would. Soon as that transformation is perfected the Hetty Greens\* appear abreast of the J. Pierpont Morgans, the Harriet Fishers turn up beside the James W. Van Cleaves in National Manufacturers' Associations. Thus once more the pregnant fact is made manifest—sex is not, as it never was, the line of class cleavage.

A fourth manifestation of the transformation that came over the conditions of the land; one that constitutes a landmark in the evolution of Suffrage; moreover, one that vies in importance to Woman's Suffrage with the manifestation just considered, in which women appear as members, active ones, at that, along with men among militants in the Ruling Class,—that manifestation is the discredit into which the franchise has fallen in the estimation of the Social Masters.

You will remember how the bourgeois revolution, surpassing all others in the revolutionariness of its aspirations and in the liberality of its program, proclaimed and established universal suffrage. Then, in Whittier's language,

The crowning fact  
The kingliest act  
Of Freedom was the freeman's vote!

When the private ownership of the necessities of production had done its work, and the latent bourgeois quality of Tyranny in Idleness matured to full bloom, all that changed. Suffrage, a rung of the ladder by which the bourgeois climbed into capitalist power, lost its fascination—even worse.

The ballot, with regard to themselves, male as well as female capitalists now look at it—as the one-time prized weapon and proud badge of citizenship—as an unclean thing to handle. The sentiment is kin to that other sentiment which despises work. Once a worker, despised by his feudal lord for being a worker, and proud of being one, the capitalist, the modern full-blown bourgeois, now, in turn, despises work upon the same principle as did his feudal lord of old—work, under Class Rule, means unrequited toil, and that is a badge of servitude. Precisely as the feudal lord justified his sovereignty with the mystification of "by the grace of God," the capitalist—through his official mouthpieces, of professors, politicians, press and pulpites—justifies his pre-eminence with language, which, though not literally so, nevertheless is equivalent to the principle "Idleness is the source of all wealth." Naturally enough, such a standard of ethics can have no liking for the active use of the ballot. The mills, mines, factories, railroads, shops—from top to bottom, all the plants of industry and of useful service are now superintended and run by proletarians, by wage slaves. They run to perfection in the interest of the capitalist master. Why should not the political shop—that buttress to the industrial shop—why should not it also be run likewise? Royalty does not vote, is it dignified for the Monarch Capitalist Class to vote, and hence, aye, perchance be jostled about on the political field by sweaty toilers? It is well worth the while to watch the legislative devices of the Capitalist Class to be saved the annoyances of political activity, and bring the ballot box to their beds and bathtubs. Woman, in the meantime, had been constructively, perhaps surreptitiously, disfranchised. If to the male members of the Capitalist Class the use of the ballot is repulsive, to the female members of the same class the ballot is, to say the least, no more attractive. They sneer at, where they do not despise it.

But the Social transformation which the country has undergone finds its manifestation, with regard to Suffrage, in something more active than dislike by the Capitalist Class for political activity by himself. It finds its manifestations also in a dread, on the part of the Capitalist Class, for political activity exercised by the proletariat.

The capitalist is not in the dark as to what Suffrage implies. The capitalist is well aware that, if Suffrage began and ended with the ballot, the peacefully blissful continuance of the reign of Capital would be an assured thing. Whatever the system voting—whether old style, or Australian style, so-called, or machine,—the capitalist is safely entrenched politically. A hostile vote that endangers his reign can to-day be deftly counted out, and safely, too.

Furthermore, as an incident in their struggle with one another, one set of capitalists has often found its account in setting up a "Labor Party," a sort of decoy-duck to draw votes away from the other set. Hardly a State, north of Mason and Dixon's line, but has seen, some time or other, the apparition.\* But with the development of the Trust the "Labor Vote," to-day, is, as Chancellor Kent's partially correct opinion predicted, ever more plainly tail to the Trust magnates' kite. For another thing, the trick is costly. The psychologic counterpart of the physical quality of the drunkard never to be satisfied, is the Capitalist's mental quality, never to feel rich enough. The English economist, T. J.

Dunning, stated with witty profundity that, with a 300 per cent. profit in sight, there is no crime at which capital will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. For parity of reason, the Capitalist, female or male, while prone to lavishness for purposes of ostentation, eschews expenses in business. They lower profits. Decoy-duck Labor Parties are mercenary armies, and expensive. For a third reason, the trick is fraught with danger. If decoy Labor Parties are free to spring up, then bona-fide ones cannot be prevented.

That is the rub—and the specter it raises in the capitalist's mind's eye is one that Woman's Suffrage must reckon with.

If Suffrage began and ended with voting, the worst inconvenience that the capitalist could suffer from it in the hands of the proletariat would be that of a gravel in the shoe—a nuisance, but nothing fatal. Suffrage, however, does not begin and end with the ballot. The ballot is only an incident, the least important, at that, in the franchise. The franchise, Suffrage, implies propaganda; propaganda educates; education crystallizes into organization. A revolutionary propaganda against Capitalism is unfeasible except in the open. Too numerous is the Class interested therein; too many even the minimum number needed for the resultant organization that the times demand. These numbers cannot be reached and brought together in midnight gatherings in cellars, or attics, or groves, nor can the propaganda be conducted in whispers, or veiled language. The revolutionary propaganda against Capitalism can be conducted only over-and-above-board, in language that is clear in sound, and clear in sense. There is no field other than that offered by Suffrage for such a propaganda. What is known as "Political Action"—that alone can preach the Revolution in the way it must be preached.

Now, then, we have seen, on the one hand, the ballot-holding proletariat fastened to-day as a tail to the political kite of the Top-Capitalist Class; on the other hand, we have seen the utter futility of the proletarian ballot alone. To escape being impaled on one horn or the other of the dilemma there is but one path—to use the opportunity afforded by Suffrage to preach the Social Revolution; in other words, to carry on the propaganda that will educate, and, so doing, crystallize in that organization which is the only physical force available to the proletariat; the all-sufficient physical force; withal, the very physical force, the mold of which is furnished by capitalist society itself, in that the mold foreshadows the construction of the Socialist Republic—the integral, industrial organization of the proletariat. The industrial organization of the proletariat; on the one hand, cuts the bonds of economic superstitions that frighten the proletarian ballot into Top-Capitalist support, and thereby gives a chance to a peaceful solution of the Social Question; on the other hand, the industrial organization of the proletariat is the ready physical force to frustrate a capitalist electoral crime.

Though deep thought is not a capitalist virtue, instinct is a virtue of the dumbest beast,—preeminently so of Usurpation. No wonder the Capitalist Class now see in Suffrage a source of danger to its existence.

Finally, there is a fifth manifestation of the transformation that came over the land, due to the economic laws that underlie the private ownership of the necessities for production—a transformation that can be overlooked only at the peril of Woman's Suffrage. It flows as the direct consequence of the one just considered—the, at first bold, now devious devices adopted to disfranchise the proletariat, at least hamper it in the exercise of Suffrage.

The chapter of the story I now enter upon has never yet received that fullness of treatment that it is entitled to.\* I can here give only its roughest outline.

The attempt of Capitalism to rid itself of the danger that Suffrage is fraught with for its rule may be said to have started with the scheme of President Grant's ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Benjamin H. Bristow, conceived barely ten years after the close of the Civil War, to overthrow the Republic and replace it with a Monarchy. Bristow was too headlong. The scheme was smothered. Less headlong than Bristow's, but still too bold for execution, was the next, the scheme of which Simon Sterne of this State became a leading exponent a few years later—the scheme to re-establish a property qualification. That scheme also was scotched. Its weakness also lay in its frankness. Then came the third epoch in the move, when the same purpose was to be pursued in devious and surreptitious ways. That epoch we are now in.

In several states of the South the scheme has been tangled up with the false pretense of "preserving the purity of the white race." The pretence is transparent. Concealed under it is the throbbing Labor Problem. The tanglefoot: Suffrage legislation, while aimed at the Negro ostensibly as a Negro, in fact aims at him as a wage-slave, seeking to keep him focused to the traditional standpoint, and, along with him, the rest of his class. In most other States, the North leading, the scheme is pursued under the colors of the "Australian Ballot."

The term "Australian Ballot" suggests the idea of a move democracyward. The "Australian Ballot" presupposes the impossibility of, at least much curtailed opportunities for ballot-box frauds; it diminishes, aye, removes the item of expense—a serious obstacle to the ease of political expression under the former private ballot system. In short, the "Australian Ballot" presents itself as a promise of a more efficacious, because more liberal, Suffrage. Under color of the promise, suggested by the name—"Australian Ballot"—exactly the opposite goal is pursued, and is being accomplished. Out of the forty-six States of the Union only three—Georgia, North and South Carolina—have retained the old system. In these three States, it would seem, the alleged "Anti-Negro" ballot laws are deemed sufficient for the purpose. In all the remaining forty-three States the Australian Ballot, modified, has been introduced. What the modifications purport may be judged from a few of the most striking ones:

The Virginia sample Australian Ballot that I have is fit to superinduce delirium tremens in choosing one's candidates. The names of the offices are so contrived as to run into one another. A mistake in marking, by all but the most expertly prepared, is easily incurred. A mistake renders the ballot null.

In the States of Washington and Minnesota a money contribution is demanded from each candidate. In Minnesota a fixed sum; in Washington a percentage, a tall one at that, of the salary attached to each office.

Here, in New York, where we have nearly sixty counties, at least fifty signatures are now demanded in each, besides a total of 6,000. Slip on one county and you have slipped on all.

In Ohio and other States the percentages are being raised. In short, all the modifications hamstringing more or less the "Australian Ballot," they are intended to render free Suffrage expression difficult, and more and more so—all obedient to that sentiment of the capitalist, female and male, that to-day causes the Ruling Class to scent danger in Suffrage, and to strain for its abolition as a proletarian weapon.

Surveying the field of the Woman Suffrage Movement from the elevation of the historic development that I have just rapidly sketched—the splitting of the primal Communal System into classes; the metamorphosis undergone in the foundation of the Ruling Class; the rise of Suffrage; the changes Suffrage has undergone; finally the present posture of the capitalist mind toward the ballot in its own and then in the hand of the proletariat—we

we are in condition to pass in review the arguments of the Suffragist Specialists, and the arguments of their Antis.

### ARGUMENTS OF ANTIS.

I have jotted down a few of the representative arguments made by the leading male and female opposers of Woman's Suffrage. Here they are:

"Woman's Suffrage would break up the home";  
"Woman has no experience or knowledge of political matters";  
"The ballot would degrade woman";  
"Woman is mentally unfit for questions of State";  
"The ballot would render woman sordid";  
"The disfranchised status of Woman may work evil here and there; on the whole, what is their loss is society's gain".

These will do. They are types of the mass of Anti-ammunition fired into the camp of the Suffragists.

Not one of these arguments but sounds as a deliberate insult to the human intellect. To dispose of them, however, as such would be to miss the point. With the exception of the Richard Watson Gilders—beings that are atavistic manifestations of the oyster-stage in biology, the stage of mentality that, clinging to the sea-weed-covered rock of the Present-Past, perceives not the changes that are going on in shore formations and in the current of the tides—with the exception of such oyster antediluvians, whose occasional poetical vein instead of promoting Progress, would retard it by making the apotheosis of the Past, at the shrine of which they worship, veritable pagans,—with the exception of such mentalities, to whom I am surprised not yet to have seen the talented Charlotte Perkins Gilman dedicate a geologic poem, matching the one with which, nearly twenty years ago, she disposed of Francis A. Walker, the unenviable author of the dictum: "Socialism is a Vagary"—with the exception of such exceptional personages, all others who raise their voice against Woman's Suffrage utter the sentiments of the Ruling Class. Theirs is not a purpose to insult; theirs is the purpose to preserve their class supremacy, instinctively felt to be imperilled by a Movement, which, so far from restricting, as they are seeking to do, would tend to add fresh recruits to the political army of the proletariat. How truly an exhalation of capitalist class instinct the Antis' arguments are appears from their being exact counterparts of the agonized arguments that proceed from the same source against Socialism.

Let us consider them separately:

"Woman's Suffrage would break up the home"—exactly what they say against Socialism—a doubly untrue charge. For the home to be threatened with destruction by Woman Suffrage, or Socialism, the home must be safe and pure to-day under the shield of Capitalism. The home is broken up to-day. Mothers, in increasing numbers, are torn from their homes in search of a living in factories and shops, while their babes are "charitably" left to the "charitable" care of "charitably" instituted "nurseries"; husbands have to leave their homes in search, far and wide, for the illusive job; children, who should be under the softening influence of the home are forced into the hardening influence of child labor. Nor is this all. The percentage of marriages declines; the percentage of divorces increases; while the domestic scandals that are in perpetual outbreak among the topmost branches of the tree of the Top-Capitalist Class allow more than peeps into what is up in those "homes"—all this under the shield of Capitalism. The home is pivoted upon material wellbeing. Whatever tends to promote the solidity of the pivot makes for the solidity of the home. Nor can it be doubted that, to place in the hand of the members themselves of the home the power to control its destiny, must make for the welfare of the home. It is but natural that, with the opposite principle in force, the home is to-day on the rocks.

"Woman has no experience or knowledge of political matters"—exactly, what they say of the Working Class—exactly the language of King George and his Parliament toward the American colonists in revolt—exactly the language of the Oeil de Boeuf agent the bourgeois who demanded a voice in the affairs of the France of the Old Regime—exactly the recent language of Abdul Hamid towards his people tired of autocratic rule. In short, exactly the language that Usurpation ever holds, and that regularly is disproved, soon as its yoke is cast off. The resources a people hold within themselves are vast soon as the bars are thrown down and opportunities are open to all. Upon that history is eloquently conclusive.

"The ballot would degrade woman"—though not literally, yet substantially what they say of the effect that Socialism would have upon the race—a purely ruling class conception of what the race is. To a ruling Class, it is the race. What is good for it is good for the race; what harms it is harmful to the race. Once, as we saw, the conception had a color of justice. It had a color of justice with the initial ruling class whose useful efforts society then needed; it had a color of justice even with the bourgeois, whose efforts, though essentially criminal in methods, served the needed purpose of organizing labor co-operatively—so long as he performed that needed social mission, the bourgeois could consider himself the race with a color of justice. But its mission has been performed by each successive ruling class. To-day the last descendant of the long line of social masters, the capitalist, lingers on the stage only as a scab clings to the wound that healed under it. To-day, accordingly, not only is the present ruling class not the race, it has become a husk formation upon the race—benefited only in the measure that it injures the race; harmed by aught that would promote the race. No wonder the Capitalist Class apprehend the effect of Woman's Suffrage upon their race.

"Woman is mentally unfit for questions of State"—exactly the charge they bring against the proletariat, and for exactly the same purpose—to justify the continuance of their own privileged position. In both cases, to the extent that there is truth in the charge it smites the charger. The ethic principle that none shall profit by his own wrong rejects a plea that seeks to justify the continuance of a wrong with the wrong itself.

"The ballot would render woman sordid"—who does not recognize in this charge the familiar ring of the admonition to the Working Class, issued from Falstaffian "capon-lined bellies," to give no heed to Socialism with its "materialistic" and "unspiritual gospel," but turn their thoughts to heaven, and there lay up treasures for themselves where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal?

"The disfranchised status of woman may work evil here and there; on the whole, what is their loss is society's gain"—drop the words in the sentence, which allude to Woman exclusively, and substitute for them "condition of the Working Class," and the whole sentence, literally and in spirit, is identically the self-satisfied phrase with which some official sociologists of the Capitalist Class have sought to reconcile the proletariat to their martyrdom—"the condition of the working class may work evil here and there; on the whole what is their loss is society's gain." Slavery ever debases the slave and pollutes the master. The debasement on the one side, the pollution on the other, may be extenuated as transitory social necessities, whereby ultimate and greater benefits are to be gained to all. We saw such to be the case when the first Ruling Class, the wielder of the Iron Tool, arose; social science recognizes the force of the argument even in the instance of the bourgeois when his mission was still to be fulfilled; with the fulfillment of the mission of the bourgeois the social mission, if the term may be allowed, of the injuries inflicted by Class Rule is completed. So thoroughly completed is it that the whole basis of Class

Rule stands transformed. Not Effort but Idleness is now the badge of the modern Social Ruler. The goal, which to attain, society submitted to the ills of Class Rule, has been reached. The tool and mechanism of production have matured to such perfection, that to-day, without arduous toil, abundance is possible to all. The double-headed Wolf of Want and Fear of Want need no longer throw his shadow across the threshold of man. Leisure is possible to all; with Leisure its long train of blessings. In short, the first task of the human race has been accomplished. The problem of its material wellbeing is solved. We now stand at the gate of the higher problems, the mental and spiritual problems of our existence. Slavery, at such a ripened season, has no longer any place in sense or reason. To seek to justify it in any form is to seek to sacrifice the race to the interests of a superannuated class. It is to act as a drag-upon Progress.

In short, Suffrage is not being denied to Woman as a sex; it is being denied to her as a proletarian. The women who are not proletarians care not for the ballot themselves any more than the male members of their class, and realize full well, with their male fellows, that by foregoing this, to them, indifferent privilege, they bar out the overwhelming members of their sex who are proletarians. I have yet to hear an argument from the Antis that does not proceed from Ruling Class interests—consequently, that does not help to light the movement for Woman Suffrage the road that it should tread.

### ARGUMENTS OF PROS.

Have the Suffragists—and when I say Suffragists Suffragettes are included—have the Suffragists caught the note of the Antis' opposition? The regrettable fact must be recorded that, as a body, they have not. Far otherwise. Had the Antis deliberately meant to lead the Suffragists to the wrong track, the Suffragists could not, as a body, have suited the Antis more completely.

Let me take up some of the arguments made by prominent Suffragists on leading occasions—especially arguments that are favorite ones, and deemed powerful by them.

"With the disfranchisement of Woman," it is a favorite argument with Suffragists, "Society has been limping on only one foot."—This is a historic error involving a serious error in sociology. It is not on a whole foot that society has been limping. Society has been "limping" on only the hundredth part, or even less, of a foot. The episode in the history of Suffrage, comprised in the era of the old Republic of Rome, for one, not to mention other striking episodes in the history of Suffrage, is conclusive of the fact that it is by virtue of Class Rule that society has done the "limping." The members of the estate consisting of the poor classes in Rome were qualified voters. But their vote was, constitutionally, of no importance if the two upper classes—patricians and knights—were agreed, and consequently, their vote was not required in such cases—which was the rule. It was, accordingly, not by reason of its being divided between qualified and unqualified voters that the Roman republic "limped." It "limped" because of being divided into economic classes—a Ruling and a Ruled Class. The latter being the vast majority, there was no whole foot, but only a fraction of a foot to "limp" upon. We have seen that, with the very first appearances of Classes, symmetry ceased in the anatomy of society. From that time on there was "limping," but the lame limb comprised the large majority, and the majority comprised males as well as females.

It suits the Ruling Class to have Woman's Suffrage presented as a sex issue. As such an issue the source and present foundation of Woman's Social inferiority is kept dark, and thereby the inferiority is perpetuated.

\* How thorough-going a revolution is marked by the appearance of the Hetty Greens on the social stage is illustrated by a recent remark of the lady: "Let others own the land, I take mortgages upon the land." Not only is the original foundation of the Class Struggle so completely changed, from what it was originally, that Woman steps into the Ruling Class, but also the subsequent accompanying foundation—land—that became a characteristic of feudal supremacy has been removed. The capitalist woman sees no attraction in land; what charms her is the capitalist claws with which to transform the land into profits-yielding capital.

\* Another subject deserving the research of serious Socialists who would enrich the literature of the Social Question with solid information, comprehensively presented.

\* A third subject worthy of the attention of serious Socialists, and awaiting comprehensive historic treatment.

\* A fourth subject that bespeaks and awaits special treatment by serious Socialists, who would enlighten the Movement with original work.

\* Francis A. Walker's dictum was hurled at the Nationalist Movement which was given birth to by Edward Bellamy's novel "Looking Backward." Charlotte Perkins Gilman's brilliantly satirical poem, dedicated to Mr. Walker and compeers, appeared in "The Nationalist" at the time.

\* The episodes comprised in the era of feudalism in France, after the bourgeois had obtained the suffrage; likewise in Spain; also in the medieval republics of Italy and the German Hansa towns, are all illustrative of the same fact.

(TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1909.

The glad days fly so merrily,  
The glad days dance so cheerily,  
O for to fling a loop of gold,  
And every hoyden moment hold!

The sad days droop so drearily,  
So wan-tyed and so wearily,  
O for a cat-o'-nine-tails then  
To lash the laggards on again!

—LOVEMAN.

## BANKERS OUT FOR MORE CRAFT.

The bankers, now holding the annual session of the American Banking Association in Chicago, and congregated in unprecedented numbers, have started a spirited campaign to block the popular plan for Postal Savings Banks, and with the brazen audacity of their breed, propose a counterplan by which Congress shall empower them to establish savings departments. If the counterplan goes through, and the banks become also Savings Banks, the last vestige will have been swept away from the false pretence that "the Savings Bank is the poor man's bank."

The myth that the Working Class is the depositor of the billions in the Savings Banks has been torn to shreds in these columns again, and again, and yet again. It has been torn to shreds with the statistical figures furnished by the Treasury Department and the Census; it has been torn to shreds with the charges and countercharges that, in unguarded moments, Presidents of National Banks and of Savings Banks themselves have made, when the former charged the Savings Banks with being favorite deposits for speculators, who, while waiting for the opportunity to speculate draw their funds from the National Banks, where they do not draw interest, and deposit them with Savings Banks, where they can get some small interest, and when the latter retort that their depositors are not speculators but middle class people who desire to secure for themselves a steady however small revenue; moreover, the myth has been torn to shreds with other evidence that went to show that "ladies in carriages" and the like were to a large extent the patrons of the "banks of the poor."

For all that, it is quite certain that, to some extent, wage slaves of the lapd are depositors of Savings Banks. The folly of the act has likewise been exposed in these columns. Improvidence is a vice; providence a virtue. But there is no providence in the conduct of people, who have not enough to keep themselves in health, pinching themselves. They imagine they protect themselves against the rainy day of sickness, whereas, in fact, by under-feeding and under-clothing, they invite the rain upon their heads in the shape of doctors' druggists' and also undertakers' bills; or they imagine they protect themselves against the rainy day of being laid-off, whereas, in fact, by placing their painfully scraped-together pennies in a Savings Bank, they simply raise a heap conveniently accessible for the employer to borrow, wherewith to improve the machinery in his plant, and thereby bring upon them the down-pour of being thrown out of work by labor-saving contrivances.

What, on the one hand with the slowly gaining perception of the avoidable evils to the Working Class involved in private Savings Banks, and, on the other hand, with the general superstition in favor of "saving" at all cost, there has arisen a popular demand for Postal Savings Banks. Indeed, a number of dangers are thereby avoided, notably the danger of being robbed outright. Uncle Sam will not abscond to Canada, or Honduras.

And now come the bankers—the fraternity that only recently and, in fact, daily furnishes inmates to our penitentiaries, or suicides for the Coroner's attention—and not only do they object violently to the Postal Savings Bank

proposition, but shamelessly oppose the same with a proposition that they be allowed to extend their depredations into the Savings Banks pasture ground!

## THAWING ICEBERGS.

In a recent one of those magazine articles which are compiling for the working class invaluable data on the criminality of their rulers, the statement was made that: "It is a significant commentary upon the sugar trust that since the day of its incorporation it has never built a new plant. Its whole work has been destructive."

The sentences are illustrative of a great and growing portion of the corporate activity of the time. The late E. H. Harriman himself, director when he died of forty-one railroads, was nowhere known as a builder, but only as a purchaser and a combiner, of railroads. A few years ago the great Eastern Shipbuilding Company's plant at New London was closed up by the shipping trust—just bought and closed up. The increasing prevalence of graft and business corruption, the growing power and importance of Stock Exchanges, show that it is no longer industrial activity, but parasitism upon that activity, that more and ever more capitalists are looking to for their money.

All this denotes a dissolution. Of another period when a previous ruling class had outlived its usefulness, and the storm was gathering to sweep it away, Carlyle wrote:

"There then walks our French Noblesse. All in the old pomp of chivalry; and yet, alas, how changed from the old position; drifted far down from their native latitude, like Arctic icebergs got into the Equatorial sea, and fast thawing there! Once these Chivalry Dukes (Dukes, as they are still named) did actually lead the world—were it only towards battle-royal, where lay the world's best wages then; moreover, being the ablest Leaders going, they had their lion's share, those Dukes; which none could grudge them. But now, when so many Looms, improved Ploughshares, Steam-Engines, and Bills of Exchange have been invented; and, for battle-brawling itself, men hire Drill-Sergeants at eighteen-pence a-day,—what mean these gold-mantled Chivalry Figures, walking there in black velvet cloaks, in high-plumed hats of a feudal cut? Reeds shaken in the wind!"

Just so lies it with the ruling class of to-day, that same bourgeoisie which overthrew and swept away the "gold-mantled Chivalry Figures" of an out-grown feudalism. Like the feudal lords, whom they superseded, the lords of capital once had a function to perform. That function was, led on by the desire for their own private profit, to spread industry, develop machinery, and teach the world co-operation. That function has now been almost, if not wholly, accomplished. The capitalists of to-day are, like the French nobles of 1789, the relics of an outlived, outworn necessity. In the developed state of modern industry, in the storm which is gathering to sweep them to the ash-heap of civilization, they are, in Carlyle's words, but "thawing icebergs" and "reeds shaken in the wind."

## HARRIMANIANA.

From the crop of biographies of the late E. H. Harriman a few passages are worth reproduction and attention—

"Edward Henry Harriman was born in poverty on February 25, 1848. At the age of twelve years he was placed at a college where the sons of Episcopal clergymen were given free tuition. . . . At the age of twenty-two he bought a seat on the stock exchange.—A seat on the Stock-Exchange is a seat in the Council of 'Captains of Industry.' Captainship of Industry is claimed to be a sort of by-the-grace-of-God affair. If so, why buy it? On the other hand, if the place has to be bought, then the Socialist principle is proved once more—a man is not a capitalist because he is a Captain of Industry; 'tis the other way; he is a Captain of Industry by virtue of his being a capitalist."

"Edward Henry Harriman was the son of Orlando Harriman, an Episcopal minister at Hempstead, L. I. . . . Harriman perceived that the future of capital in the United States was bound up in the railroads, and that an immense fortune would fall to the man who could keep pace with the railroad development of the country and, like Jay Gould and Fisk, be on hand at the moment of his rival's distress."—The perpetual croak, solemnly croaked by the moralists of capitalism is that religious education is essential to the making of a lad, without which education his other attainments will only tend to make him a scamp. Harriman's career pricks a hole into the theory. Either "to be on hand at the moment of your rival's distress" is a

moral act—and then the less we have of that morality the better; or, it is an immoral act—and then the morality taught by the "religious atmosphere" proves itself not proof against material necessities. Socialist principle proved once more. He who seriously aims at promoting morality must first furnish the material foundation therefor. To preach morality and coquet with capitalism, justifies the strongest suspicions against the moralist—indeed, such conduct is a proof of the controlling power of material needs.

"Mr. Harriman was a great man. . . . That his undertakings were too vast for any one intellect, and that their colossal proportions cut short his life is probably true."—Granted that Harriman was a man of genius, and granted also that the nature of his work, the concentration of the roads, is a valuable service to society, the obviously premature death of the man again demonstrates Socialism. The nature of the directive forces, which modern production demands, places such forces beyond the power of private, and requires the power of public bodies. Granted that the biographer of Harriman says in this respect, then Harriman's real mission on earth was to warn society against leaving its house in such a disordered condition that the individual has to undertake the task and perish, leaving the task unfinished. Which is exactly what Socialism warns against.

## BOLD BAD TAMMANY.

Unofficially, semi-officially and officially all the several "Good Government" forces, the Republican political machine among the lot, who are foregathering in this city with the single purpose of giving New York a clean administration have decided that, seeing the independent nominee for Mayor, Judge Gaynor, will receive and accept the endorsement of Tammany Hall, they will set up an opposition candidate to him.

To the dull witted this may look like a stamp of opprobrium, deliberately laid upon Tammany Hall. To the keen witted it will be obvious that the stamp laid upon Tammany is one of vindication.

The fundamental principle with Good Government forces is: "Municipal issues are non-political." At least this is the principle which they announce most loudly, and upon the strength of which they call upon the good people of the city to rally to their standard.

All along the Socialist Labor Party has looked incredulously upon the principle. The Party could ill understand for what occult reason gentlemen, who were divided politically upon the Panama Canal, the Philippines, the Tariff, Banking, Water Courses, Army and Navy Appropriations, Appropriations for the Archbishop of Manila, in short, upon one and all the issues that take up the time of Congress, should insist upon the non-political nature of the Tenement House, the Traction, the Water Supply, the Gambling, in short, all the issues that occupy the attention of our Mayors and Aldermen.

If Panama Canal is a political, how can Traction be a non-political issue? If the Tenement House Question is non-political, for what mysterious reason are the Philippines political? The deeper one probes the question all the fahier did the principle look. This year's Good Government forces have rendered doubt no longer necessary.

The principle is a lure. If an Independent candidate may not accept the nomination of the Tammany political machine on the ground that municipal issues should not be tainted with political bodies, and yet the very men who are pulling up their skirts from the political contamination of Tammany are herding with the Republican political machine, the fact is demonstrated that they know that politics enter into all public matters, and that to deny the fact, by setting up the principle "Municipal issues are non-political," is but to indulge in a fraudulent trick to trick the voters of their support.

There is another fact demonstrated by the Good Government forces—Tammany's frankness. Tammany may be, Tammany is unspeakable as a gang of political highway robbers. But is not the bold bad man a less despicable article than the masked bad man?

John Bigelow seems to have lost none of the energy that distinguished him when, away back in the early Sixties and as the diplomatic agent of the United States in France, he punctured the sham of Napoleon III's pretensions in Mexico. Mr. Bigelow now writes to the Hudson-Fulton Committee a letter expressly stating that the show is a kind of "Roman holiday for panem et circenses" intended to call attention away from the fact that "politics and prostitution have become convertible terms."

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

## BY THE WAY OF GOMPERTS IN EUROPE

In view of the serious and refreshingly novel criticisms of Gomper's and of his A. F. of L. that his presence and conduct have provoked in Europe, particularly in Germany, where the Berlin "Vorwaerts" referred to the A. F. of L. as "dead-wood" (duerres Holz), and the significance of the man's intimate affiliation with the Civic Federation was the subject of deservedly caustic remarks in the "Neue Zeit"; furthermore, in response to several questions and requests that have come to this office on this subject in general, the below passages from the report of the Stuttgart-International Socialist Congress, held two years ago, stating the Socialist Labor Party position as expressed by the chairman of the Party's delegation, are here reproduced.

Speaking before the Committee on Unionism, Delegate De Leon said:

"When some comrades in Europe speak of America their words sound as if they imagine the world is bounded by the confines of their own continent. The powerful development that capitalism has reached in America implies a fuller Union Movement, also. Unfortunately a portion of our Unions is organized upon a purely craft basis, in separate crafts, and each craft, all working in the same shop, has a separate contract, a circumstance that greatly hampers the united action of the workers in their class moves. I therefore have the honor to submit a resolution which condemns such autonomous Unionism, in opposition to which is Industrial Unionism, which unites all the workers of a shop without distinction of craft, and consequently all the workers in all the other shops. The narrow, self-seeking form of Unionism has been found in America to be a great menace to Labor. Take care that it does not become an equal menace in Europe, when the capitalist system will have reached here the developed stage it has reached with us. I hold the Union is to be the embryo of future society. Hence it must pursue a double political and economic goal. We therefore labor for the formation of Socialist or class-conscious Unions, to take the place of Craft Unionism. The American Federation of Labor has become an auxiliary of capitalism. Its leaders, in the words of Mark Hanna, are the labor-lieutenants of the employers. In opposition to that we have set up the Industrial Workers of the World. In the name of the Socialist Labor Party of America, jointly with the Industrial Workers of the World, I have the honor to submit for your consideration the following resolution:

Whereas, The integrally organized industrial organization of the Working Class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and foreshadows the organic form of that Commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers;

Whereas, Craft Unionism, wherever capitalism has reached, untrammelled, full bloom, has approved itself what the plutocratic "Wall Street Journal" of New York has hailed it, in hailing the Gomper-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, "The bulwark of capitalist Society," that bred the officialdom which the capitalist Mark Hanna designated as his "Labor-Lieutenants"; therefore be it

Resolved, 1. That "Neutrality" towards Trades Unions, on the part of a political party of Socialism, is equivalent to "neutrality" toward the machinations of the capitalist class;

2. That the bona fide, or revolutionary Socialist Movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of Labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot, without which all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lock-out of the capitalist class;

3. That, without the political organization, the Labor or Socialist Movement could not reach its triumph; without the economic, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement. (Report of Stuttgart Congress pp. 197-199.)

Addressing the Congress in full session upon the Committee's reports, the delegate said:

"I take the tribune in the name of the Socialist Labor Party to speak in favor of the minority resolution. First of all I must correct a statement made by the previous speaker, the representative of the majority resolution. It is not two votes, it was five that the minority resolution obtained in the Committee. One vote from my Party, one vote from England [this is an error in the report, it should have been one vote from the I. W. of L. delegate] one vote from Italy, one vote from Switzerland and one vote from

France. With the reporter [the previous speaker] I am agreed on two points. First of all this is a question of tactics that has its roots in economic unity. Likewise am I at one with him upon the necessity of friendly and intimate relations between Party and Union. But I protest against the disdainful way in which Beer treats the minority. He simply ignored our resolution. He declined to discuss it with you. He has acted towards us in the manner that the Government of Wurttemberg has just acted towards citizen Quelch. The Wurttemberg Government also refused to listen. (Laughter.)

"Our principal criticism of the majority resolution consists in this—it only takes cognizance of the Union situation of countries that are still backward in the development of Unionism; it takes no cognizance of the situation in America, where capitalism is farther developed than here on the continent. You also, it is true, have 'Christian Unions,' and likewise 'Yellow Unions.' These are all distinguished for their support of capitalism. But, in America, the leaders of the leading Unions operate in accord with the National Civic Federation, that is, with the Top Capitalists, and their principle is not the class struggle. In order to conceal the antagonisms between Capital and Labor, they pretend that the basis for action is harmony between the classes. These Trades Union leaders lead the working class into a blind alley. It is impossible to co-operate with such alignments. The time is at hand when you also will be confronted with this development, and then you will have to act accordingly. In our opinion a true political Socialist Movement can not be reared except upon a true Socialist economic Movement. We aim in the United States at the organization of industrial Unions that embrace all the workers in the same shop so as to put an end to the particularism of craft autonomy. Hence it is that I request you to accept the minority resolution, which alone takes all the economic eventualities into consideration. ("Very well!" from several benches.) (Pp. 357-359.)

Considering that only five years ago, John Mitchell, Gomper's double, was feasted in Europe, was referred to as "Comrade Mitchell," and was otherwise much made of, the S. L. P.'s "isolated position" is somewhat widening its area.

Would that the Indianapolis "News" were right in its opinion that "there is a growing inclination to reject with scorn any tendency toward 'oratorical flights,' mere 'phrasology of eloquence' and to discountenance 'all frivolous and clap-trap.' If the supply in any thing is the test it is claimed to be of the demand and taste for it, the evidence is the other way. "Clap-trap," "frivolous," "oratorical flights" have increased immensely during the last ten years. Nor could it be otherwise. Where things are going to smash dust must be thrown up in increasing quantity. Whether it be the Republican or the Democratic, or the so-called Socialist party, the advocacy of free trade, or of protection, of craft Unionism, or anti-immigration—all are going to smash. Hence, the supply of "clap-trap" must, just now, be on the increase. After all it may be a good symptom.

Ex-Mayor Seth Low declines having his name considered as a candidate for nomination this year, on the ground that his "duties as head of the Civic Federation would not permit him to listen to any political proposal." Which means that his duties as head of the Civic Federation are so chockfull of politics that there is no room for any more.

A Chicago paper having suggested the necessity of a Notary Public's Office on the North Pole to the end that discoverers be enabled to secure attestations of their feats, Victor L. Berger's Milwaukee "Wahrheit" observes with a good deal of pith that the precaution would be of little use, "seeing that for a fee of twenty-five cents the ordinary Notary Public in America stands ready to certify 'so many a thing.'" Berger must have had in mind the thirty-one affidavits to the veracity of an affidavit that did not exist, which his now fellow-member on the National Executive Committee of his party, Morris Hillquit, once had the brass to present in Court against the Socialist Labor Party. But Berger should remember that the S. L. P. caused the said thirty-one affidavits to be kicked out of Court, together with Mr. Hillquit and his "case." Why should not bona fide North Pole discoverers do the same?

"Canada needs Coolies," 25,000 of them, is the news that comes from Ottawa. From which the conclusion is to be drawn that the Swedish laborers, whom Canada had been inveigling to her domains and whom she put to deadly work whereupon they were buried "and no questions asked," are either leaving or are "asking questions."

"The People" is the paper that you want. Straight and Truthful.

## ZANDARA'S TALE TRUE.

Investigator Comes Across Compendium of Mysteries Revealing Secrets of Funny Men.

By Gus A. Maves, Toronto.

The "Story of Zandara" and his experience with the Socialist party ceases to be a matter of fiction.

I am in possession of evidence in the form of a colossal compendium of mysteries published by the "Heilige Genossen," and known by them as the "Theurgia," which surpasses in its complications all the rites of the Magi, the Capitalists and the Rosicrucians put together.

In the erste Auflage (first edition) of this work, under the chapter headed "Initiations" (Einweihungen), the following extract appears:

To become a member of the Socialist party of the United States and, before observing the final rituals, the applicant must repeat three times, and with the greatest solemnity

I harbor enmity and spite  
'Gainst every rank De Leonite;  
The facts I promise to keep mum.—  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

Should truth present itself to me,  
"Disrupter!" I will about with glee;  
And this be my Palladium;—  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

On another page of the same chapter, I find a formula for a Socialist party man who wishes to gain prominence in the American Federation of Labor. The following verse must be sworn to in the presence of three witnesses. "Alle guten dinge sind drei," says the proverb:—

The workers are all mutes I vow;  
My motto is "get something now!"  
A loaf is better than a crumb;—  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

A Genosse desiring to become editor of a Socialist party paper must sign his name to the following verses in the presence of three witnesses:—

From truth and right I vow to swerve;  
And Capital my god I'll serve,  
And help to make his business hum;  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

All lying advertisements take;  
Lend aid to every paying fake;  
At Socialists I'll snap my thumb;—  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

On his failure to comply with these expressed vows, it is said that perdition will speedily overtake the would be editor and he will end up in final and complete bankruptcy. The records, however, show that this vow has seldom been broken.

The actions of the Trautmann-St. John faction at the 1908 I. W. W. convention are distinctly traceable to the school of thought that produced these men. This school is the Socialist party, which they had patronized for years.

All Socialist Labor Party men should take a warning by this, and study the Science of Bumology, in order to safeguard their organizations, political and economic, from the disrupting "bum" pest.

Bumology is a new word. (Lexicographers please take note.) It is derived from the Greek "logos," signifying discourse, and the American word "bum,"—a discourse on bums. The bum is a product of capitalism. They are of two kinds. 1. Involuntary;—the men or women driven by want and economic dependence into the lowest slums, where they learn to laud the capitalist class as models of sublime benevolence and charity. 2. Voluntary;—the men or women who have the intelligence to trace a social wrong to its proper source, and who then, by various means uphold that source; intellectual prostitutes.

This second class of bums comprises most of the leaders of the Socialist party and American Federation of Labor, professors, preachers, lawyers and newspaper editors. Their numbers are almost as large as the ones of Class 1. Between these two, the real revolutionary proletarian must eventually rise, and force its way into a higher order of civilization.

## Window Glass Workers' Excellent Strike.

Pittsburg, Pa., September 14.—The strike of the flatteners and gutters in the American Window Glass Works at Jeannette, Pa., and Monongahela, Pa., is making the bosses look sick.

Attempts to import scabs have met with well calculated counter moves by the strikers. It is reported that the State Constabulary will be sent to Jeannette to help the employers.

The strike has been in progress for some time. The men want a 20 per cent. wage increase, while the company refuses more than a paltry 8 per cent.

When patronizing those who advertise in the Daily People fall not to tell them that you saw their advertisement in the Daily People.



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I must have been dreaming all my born days. UNCLE SAM—Are you making discoveries?

B. J.—It almost looks that way to me. Just think of it! When I struck with my fellow switchmen in Buffalo to uphold the ten-hour law, Governor Flower, the Democrat, swooped down upon us with the whole militia of the State and gave the victory to the bosses who were grinding us down.

U. S.—So he did.

B. J.—Then I went to work as a longshoreman on the Erie Lake, and Mark Hanna, the Republican, cut our wages in two; and when we struck he knocked the stuffs out of us with policemen's clubs.

U. S.—Too true.

B. J.—And then I got a job as a trainman on the Chicago & Rock Island road, and when we demanded that our fellow men at Pullman be not treated as beasts of burden, good God, how didn't Cleveland, the Democrat, and Woods, the Republican, knock us into as many cocked hats with their soldiers and their Gatling guns on paper.

U. S.—Indeed they did.

B. J.—Now from all this I had drawn my conclusions.

U. S.—To what effect?

B. J.—To the effect that these capitalists were a lot of scoundrels, who looked upon the workers as their legitimate beasts of burden, that had to be whipped blind if they roared or kicked.

U. S.—There are no flies on that conclusion.

B. J.—But here comes the puzzle—

U. S.—(Looking around)—Where?

B. J.—Right here; the identical Democratic politicians who browbeat us before are now making speeches in which they say: "There is no conflict between capital and labor. The interest of the workers is the interest of the employers. And it behooves us who are employers to resist with might and main the lowering of the wages of the working poor."

U. S.—That's very loving.

B. J.—And the identical Republican politicians who shot us and helped the bosses suck us dry are holding the same language.

U. S.—The love of these people for the working class seems to bloom like the rose in June.

B. J.—And aren't you puzzled?

U. S.—Whereat?

B. J.—At so much love pouring forth from quarters that otherwise only pour down oppression upon us?

U. S.—Not a bit.

B. J.—Well, which is which? Are these Republicans and Democrats our real friends or are they our enemies after all?

U. S.—Don't you remember that Scotch terrier that snapped and growled at you yesterday when you called at John Jones?

B. J.—Blast the brute! I could have broken its neck.

U. S.—Did you love him?

B. J.—Not much I did.

U. S.—And yet I overheard you addressing him in these endearing terms: "Good doggy, sweet doggy; come, come, nice doggy!"

B. J.—What would you have me to do? Growl at him and have him tear me all to pieces?

U. S.—Just what you did to John Jones' doggy is what these Republicans and Democrats are now doing to us. They have been treating us as dogs, using workmen to satisfy their pleasures, skinning us, outraging us right and left. Now comes election time. They want to get into office—a sort of John Jones' house—where they will be able to carry on their system of fleecing us, each side of them, though, wanting to get there to the exclusion of the other so as to have our whole hide to itself. But now it so happens that there are one hundred workmen's votes to those Republican and Democratic capitalists' one, and we workmen are growing in their way; they need our votes to get in; they want to keep us from voting for ourselves and want us to vote for them.—Hence their present love. Hence we are now "good doggy," "sweet doggy," "nice doggy." Catch on?



# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## S. L. P. MESSAGE WELL RECEIVED

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We are holding street meetings twice a week in the different towns throughout the valley here and have had fairly good sales of literature at each meeting. Last night in Rochester we sold sixteen pamphlets. The workers are eager to hear the Socialist Labor Party teachings as to political and industrial unity, and having always been doped with the vote, vote cry of the Socialist party, they now realize that votes without the physical force to back them up are useless, except to stage strutters and freaks.

Some of the Socialist party men are constantly purchasing literature at the meetings and it will do them a world of good as they are honest but misled by those that want to keep them from hearing the other fellow's arguments.

We don't hear a word against the S. L. P. principles and tactics, and it looks as though the workingmen realize that we have the correct solution.

Comrades Markley and Mike Greek are doing valiant work for the movement, and there is some good bound to come from their effort.

The industrial situation is a little better than it was a month or so ago but there are still ten men for every job.

Robt. Richardson.

Rochester, Pa., September 14.

## HOW PIERSON SECURES SUBS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Our national canvasser for our press and literature, Charles Pierson, is now here in Louisville, and putting in good telling licks for the Party and its educational institutions. I worked with Pierson Friday at the noon hour in the National Machine Foundry, and Monday at the noon hour at Turner, Day and Woolworth Handle factory; and we managed to secure a few subscriptions.

What I want to say, particularly, is that Pierson is a good agitator, and a hard and patient worker. "Discouragement" and "despair" are two words not to be found in Pierson's vocabulary. And two other words decidedly in evidence in our canvasser's vocabulary, not only in his vocabulary, but chiefly in his work, are "patience" and "persistence." Sometimes, when there comes an almost irresistible temptation to say something sarcastic or cutting at the expense of the poor, ignorant, satisfied slave, who knows nothing of the Socialist Movement and does not want to know anything about it, Pierson goes right on in his canvass with the utmost patience, endeavoring rather to explain the reasons of the slave's apathy and indifference to his own and his fellow slave's real interests than to blame or criticize him for his unfortunate state of mind. Pierson approaches the slave in a pleasant and confident manner, and endeavors to awaken and arouse, if possible, the slave's class instinct and feeling, and the results of the canvass show that he has been able by his methods to get results.

Pierson explained to our Section here that he is no speaker, or orator, and that his chief work is, and must be, to get readers for our press and literature; and yet, though he is no speaker, Saturday night, September 11, at Third and Market streets, he delivered an excellent address, drawing a big crowd, in spite of the handicaps of a loud, ranting, half crazy preacher who was haranguing a small bunch of curiosity seekers a short distance away. The preacher shouted that, if he had the power, he would send for the patrol wagon and have every Socialist at our meeting locked up. But the preacher's impotent and blind rage only amused such of our audience as heard him, for he is regarded generally as a mere ignorant, harmless and partially demented religious fanatic.

We sold fourteen books and Daily Peoples, and Pierson landed four subscribers at this street meeting.

We have decided to hold two meetings a week while Pierson is here, and we will visit as many of the shops as possible at noon hours. In fact we will do what we can to wake as many slaves as we can reach, and then we shall do all we can to prevent their ever again falling under the capitalist slave driver's benumbing, deadening and mentally paralyzing influence. When our two weeks' campaign is over we will send in a fuller report.

J. H. A.  
Louisville, Ky., September 14.

## REIMER'S SPLENDID RESULTS IN PITTSFIELD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A most interesting and successful meeting was held in Pittsfield Saturday evening, September 11 with A. E. Reimer as speaker. This was the second meeting which Reimer held here recently. His first meeting in this place was held two weeks previously. Both meetings were highly successful.

Previous to Reimer's first meeting in this city there had not been an open air meeting held for some years, because of the opposition of the local Chief of Police. When Reimer arrived and was informed as to the situation he called upon the obscure chief for the purpose of breaking, if possible, this precedent. A very cold reception was in store for him. He found that some Socialist party man had, some years before, unnecessarily attacked these gentry. Two weeks before Reimer's arrival a prominent S. P. organizer, speaking on the Common here (a place where free speech is tolerated, but only a baker's dozen can be gathered to hear) aroused more hostility. Reimer, after considerable argument and persistence succeeded in breaking the ice. He held a very successful meeting at which he sold 55 pamphlets, secured two subscriptions and sold two sets of Sue books.

Since that time the Socialist party have taken advantage of Reimer's successful break and have held two meetings on the same corner. Reimer and I arrived here on our vacation and when we heard of the S. P.'s doings, we decided to combine a little agitation with pleasure and hold another meeting at the same corner. Reimer defined the Socialist Labor Party position, showed up the uselessness of pure and simple politics, and exposed the anti-politics industrial unionist. We had a large attentive audience and sold sixty-eight pamphlets, a number of Weekly People were distributed and a set of Sue books sold to an interested Socialist party man.

Pittsfield has a live flourishing Section of the S. L. P., and in the future they will try to make it the banner Section of the State.

I believe, and my belief is well grounded, as Reimer's experience through the State proves, that there is altogether too much time given by the speakers of the so-called Socialist party in denouncing the different local police than in properly attending to the subject of Socialism, and thus they bring unnecessary opposition and arouse needless antagonism to themselves.

F. Houtenbrink.  
Pittsfield, Mass., September 13.

## S. L. P. AGITATION IN ST. PAUL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Thanks to the continued efforts of John Olson and C. F. Warm, speakers from Minneapolis, and Herbert Johnson, State Secretary of the Minnesota S. L. P., agitational work of a fruitful nature has been steadily going on among the Scandinavians of the Payne avenue section of St. Paul. One or two nights a week the facts of Socialism, as taught by the S. L. P., have been presented in an able manner to gatherings of an encouraging size. Also, the great Swedish struggle has been dwelt upon as a national example of the great international struggle that goes on day after day between the contrary interests of the proletariat and bourgeoisie. And he it said to the great credit of the Scandinavians who have gathered, they have shown great appreciation and quick understanding of real Socialism, and a deep sympathy with their brothers fighting across the sea.

The object, from the first, has been the organization of a club in the Scandinavian Federation of the S. L. P., and that has been attained. H. Johnson at present holds fifteen applications for membership and has reason to expect more. The club is to be formally launched at an organizing meeting to be held Saturday, September 18. All this time the "Arbetaren," an official S. L. P. paper, has been "selling like hot-cakes." As an evidence of substantial sympathy, shown for the fighters across the sea, almost one hundred dollars have been secured in one district in one month to help win this most important of economic battles.

Gerald J. Sherwood.  
St. Paul, Minn., September 13.

## "THE PEOPLE" FOR HIM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Being a subscriber to the Weekly People, and always awaiting it with pleasure, I was immensely amused by the heading "Not for Him—Happy with His Gun and Rosary," in the correspondence column of August 28th. The article was signed, Francis Xavier Stauss. I would have

signed it if I had been in his place, Superstition less Brains. I will translate it right so that the Reverend will make no mistake hereafter.

I am always happy with my "People" and its straight revolutionary tactics. I have read the Weekly and the Daily People for a long time, and have subscribed for it, and wish to have it continued. I suspect no man of sending it to me. I can afford to take it as I don't have to pay for either Bibles or bullets, and I have no money to waste on machine made guns of the capitalist class to butcher women and children. And, therefore, I am contented and happy, for if I cannot do very much for mankind at large, I do not lay destruction in their way.

I am always reading Socialism and studying the wants of my class, the Toilers, and would not give one thing I have read for all of the priests or Catholics of the capitalist system. I have gained all by understanding the different rudiments of unionism, and explaining it and its differences to my fellow workers. I will always uphold industrial unionism and I thank Karl Marx, Engels and others, including the Weekly and the Daily People, for the light and happiness I found in becoming clear on the class struggle.

I hope the common people will search deeper for revolutionary truths. I am strictly against anything that is not for all the people.

James M. Carnahan.  
Bellingham, Wash., September 7.

## S. P. FUSION AFTERMATH IN ST. LOUIS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed clipping from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 20, 1909, is interesting. It throws a light on the rumpus which Local St. Louis, Socialist party, finds itself in following its fusion in the municipal elections of April 6 last.

It will be remembered that the S. P. press, after this spring's elections here claimed that the S. P. vote rose. But it will be seen from the clipping that the S. P. members are cast down because their vote dropped off 2,000. It will also be recollected that when the Socialist Labor Party exposed the S. P. fusion in this city with the Republicans, the S. P. press, notably the New Yorker Volkszeitung, claimed that the fusion candidate, Emil Simon, protested against his nomination by the Republicans. Now, it is seen that Mr. Hildenbrand, a prominent St. Louis S. P. man advances a different excuse. He says that the time was too short to pass upon Simon's nomination. Thus one S. P. man here contradicts an S. P. editor in New York, and both of them are dodging.

J. S.  
St. Louis, Mo., September 15.

(Enclosure)

## LEADERS WOULD OUST SOCIALISTS WHO JOINED JEP.

"Impossibilists" Criticize "Opportunists" for Allowing Simon to Join Republicans.

The "Impossibilists" and the "Opportunists" are at war over "Jep" Howe, the Sunday lid and some minor issues. The "Impossibilists" declare that the "Opportunists" have joined hands with Howe and the Republicans to wreck the Socialist party in St. Louis, while the "Opportunists" attribute the decline of the party's power in the city to the many Socialists who voted the Republican ticket in the belief that the Sunday lid would be blown off.

An "Impossibilist," according to a Socialist leader, is a member of the faction that sees in the distant future—too far away to be realized—the ideal government for which the Socialists are striving, while the "Opportunist" believes in getting whatever he can for Socialism as he goes along.

Charges that William M. Brandt, G. A. Hoehn and L. E. Hildenbrand, leaders of the "Opportunist" wing of the party, violated its declaration of principles by permitting Dr. Emil Simon to go on the Republican ticket as a candidate for the Board of Education, probably will be submitted to a vote of the Socialists in St. Louis.

The "Impossibilists" want Hoehn, Brandt, and Hildenbrand eliminated from the party. The Socialists' vote showed a loss of 2,000 at the last municipal election and the leaders are held responsible by permitting Simon to run on the Republican ticket. They are also assailed for permitting the names of three non-Socialist candidates for the Board of Freeholders to be printed on their ticket.

Mr. Hildenbrand, one of the "Opportunist" leaders, says that no charges are now pending against the Campaign Committee, but that charges were made and were found to be irregular.

"We had no chance to pass upon Dr. Simon's nomination," said Mr. Hildenbrand. "He was put on the Republican ticket at the very last moment without consulting us."

"Many Socialists who wanted to get the lid off voted the Republican ticket. A few weeks before the election, Excise Commissioner Canfield issued an order

that saloons might open for one hour between Sunday midnight and 1 a. m. Monday.

"Many Socialists thought from this that if the Republicans were successful the lid would be a thing of the past in a year."

A secret meeting was held recently at Druids' Hall to discuss the charges against the Socialist leaders. The oratory was warm and the two factions of the party went after each other hammer and tongs. So far, the "Opportunists" are said to hold a slight advantage over the "Impossibilists."

## CHARLES FALLATH.

Section Elizabeth of the Socialist Labor Party adopted the following resolutions on the loss by death of its organizer, Charles Fallath.

Whereas, Death has called from our midst Comrade Charles Fallath, Whereas, Comrade Fallath has ever been found a true husband and a loyal comrade, steadfast to the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and giving his time as an active worker and organizer, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Section Elizabeth, Socialist Labor Party, do mourn the loss of our comrade, and that we extend to his wife and family our sincere sympathy, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to his family, and also spread upon the minutes of this body, and published in the Party press.

For the Committee,  
Michael McGarry, Secretary.

## LABOR DAY IN SAN FRANCISCO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Forty-five thousand strong they marched, San Francisco's labor hosts, for every union man who did not turn out was to be clubbed by a fine. The dear old flag of red and white and blue, whose flapping folds mean so much to the man who toils, was everywhere in evidence. Huge banners that sent their bearers staggering along, tawdry toy flags and tricolor ribbons, these were the unvarying accompaniment throughout the long parade. Why? The men who marched scarce knew themselves. Some one above had thrust them into their hands, and theirs was not to reason.

Like slaves who pride themselves upon their chains, the marchers wore overalls and aprons and carried symbols of their trade. On their floats they shod horses, they blew glass, they did cabinet making, the hello girls sat with their ear-caps on before a switchboard, the milk men came out with their milk cans, the bakers with immense pretzels and bread, the pile drivers had a pile driver in full operation, and so on to weariness.

The barbarous roll of drums, the shrill shrieks of the fifes, the blare of brass could not change it: it was a slaves' parade. The feet dragged wearily along, nothing martial about them. They walked, not defiantly erect, but with bowed backs and hanging heads. Their faces were grey, their eyes were heavy and dull, and their limbs were twisted and gnarled. In the forces of all hardship had dug her talons.

But hold, there were a few who looked full-fed and strong, and whose faces proclaimed no daily struggle for life. They, who seemed the stronger, rode poor sweating nags who were hard put to it to carry so much fat and flesh. These were the labor leaders—the herders of the slaves.

And right well were they herded—cut up into small companies. They marched as they fight, in crafts. For those who know what this means, enough is said.

In the afternoon, a picnic was held in Shellmound Park. An artificial laden place, this park. The usual dreary enjoyments (?) were indulged in—games, dancing, in a crowded and stifling casino, and beer. The last easily carried away the honors of popularity. No censure is meant. Hard workers are hard drinkers.

Towards evening came the literary exercises. First, the fakirs paid their usual adulations to the workers. The notorious P. H. McCarthy, union labor nominee for mayor of San Francisco, made a speech in which he declared himself for a fair profit to the employer and a good wage for the employee. He dwelt upon their identity of interest. He ended by invoking the divine power saying, "God bless the unions and protect them."

Then the speaker of the day, who had been imported from Chicago at the cost of \$500, was introduced.—Clarence S. Darrow. Contrasted with the fakirs who surrounded him, Clarence S. Darrow made a good appearance. The first thing that strikes one about him is his magnificent forehead. His eyes are deep set and far apart. His mouth is the mouth of the speaker, strong, full and resolute. His face is grey, and silver strands are beginning to show in his whisk-like hair. He was dressed in black and wore a Lin-

coln tie. He began to speak in his slow, clear drawl, and his language was simple and plain.

He plunged immediately into his subject. He said that he had seen the thousands of toilers parade, he had witnessed their enthusiasm; but to him all this meant little. He was too old in the movement to be led astray by it. He knew that on the morrow they again bear their burdens stolidly, and their politicians would herd them from camp to camp as an intelligent collier herds sheep.

Then he plunged into an analysis of unionism which, while not very deep, showed quite an insight. He said that many looked at unionism as an end, whereas it was but a means. An army in camp was sure to disintegrate, and unions which fought not were either dead or dying. Then he took up a few of the fallacies of the A. F. of L. He spoke of the restriction of apprentices. He characterized as criminal the exclusion policy—the fight against the Jap and the foreigner. He spoke of their membership restrictions and their imbecile fight against the machine.

The hearts of the fakirs on the platform were sick, and silly smiles played on their lips. Like the restless billows that sweep up the shore and destroy the sand castles of the children, the severely simple language of the speaker swept away these A. F. of L. fallacies.

Darrow then gave a short exposition of value, how labor creates all wealth and how it is robbed in the shop. He showed how every gain by the workers was a loss to the capitalist and vice versa. He spoke of those who prated of identity of interests as fools or knaves. He declared that every man worth buying in labor's ranks was bought.

The fakirs were very quiet now and they no longer smiled.

Then the tide turned. Darrow declared that organized labor was always right, even when it was wrong. He said that shop restrictions, Japanese exclusion, fighting the machine were war measures which self-preservation dictated to them in this hellish system. He said that he was not one of those who held to one dogma. Many roads lead to Rome. It might be that Single Tax would solve the problem. It might be that Socialism would solve the question and Socialism was certainly a great world movement. But Socialists were very harsh and intolerant and their dream was afar off. It might be that here in America we needed a great labor party like the one which was so successful in Great Britain. Then he exhorted his listeners not to turn their backs on the Union Labor Party because some of their men had proved grafters and betrayed their trust. He thought that most men would graft in office and that he, for one, would rather see a workingman get the graft than a lawyer.

In conclusion, he urged them to stay with their party.

The tide had receded, exposing the shallows. The rush of indiscriminate applause which the audience tendered the speaker was joined by the fakirs, for, while Darrow had given them an evil half hour, lashing them unmercifully, he had atoned in the end by his endorsement of the Union Labor Party.

Alex. Ralph.  
San Francisco, Cal., September 9.

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# LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

D. B. PASADENA, CALIF.—The working class is robbed ONCE. It is robbed in production, which includes distribution and exchange, or useful service. The theory may be tested by the circumstance that, if the Working Class got all that it produced, there would be no question whether it was not also robbed as a purchaser. On the other hand, even if the Working Class could get for nothing all it needs to live to-day, still it would be robbed in the shop.—Next question next week.

O. B. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—When Jefferson was elected President the Constitution provided that the next highest candidate for President was Vice-President.

D. T. J. ORLANDO, FLA.—That particular "St. Anne bunco scheme" does deserve treatment, and will be treated just so soon as the facts necessary for treatment have been gathered. Delightful as the work is in this office, it is vastly larger than the limited personnel can promptly attend to. Then, also, The People never administers a crack until the club is well shaped, and sure not to splinter. Any further documentary facts are welcome.

H. B. S. HAMILTON, CANADA—Information was welcome; and was gladly used, as you may have seen. Keep it up.

H. D. J. TERRE HAUTE, IND.—Gompers was defeated only once for President of the A. F. of L. That was in 1893, right after Powderly was thrown over, and the formation of a solid economic organization was apprehended as the consequence. Those who engineered the move thought that what the progressive element objected to was Gompers. When they found out that what the progressive element objected to was, not Gompers, but Gompersism, and that a healthier economic organization threatened to appear, Gompers was immediately re-elected the very next year, 1894.

R. K. CLEVELAND, O.—Another performance of Gompers was to claim that, according to Marx himself, "the Socialists always have been against the Unions." The dishonesty of the act consisted in his quoting the literal words of Marx, used at a time when the word "Socialist" was used in the sense of the Utopians, never as meaning the Communists who later assumed the name of Socialism. This anti-Socialist and dishonest act Gompers performed in writing more than once.

L. W. HELENA, MONT.—Not at all discouraged! Quite "contrary, and otherwise." The Socialist Labor Party, so far from being discouraged, is greatly encouraged by the volumes of slander raised against it. Few things are better calculated to encourage a man than to find that only falsehoods are available against him and the position he takes.

"DEBATE," NEW YORK—Instructions will be followed. Whether a debate of that nature will prove what is expected is doubtful. The analogy with court pleadings does not hold. Court pleadings—complaints, answers, replies, rejoinders, surrejoinders must come to an end; charges to the jury are not allowed to be infinite; then comes the verdict. Even of appeals there is an end—and that relegates the case to the pigeon-hole of "res adjudicata." Debates on Individualism and Collectivism are in their essence interminable. People who will stand for "individualism" partisans, and people who will stand for "collectivism" partisans are bound to reason in a circle—as fatefully as would partisans of the Centrifugal and partisans of the Centripetal Forces in Nature.

C. C. C. PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.—The theory that "when man came out of his original haunts he came out with the greatest tool ever made—brains" will not stand the test of biology, or evolution. In the greatest of his essays, "Apology for Raymond Sebond," the philosopher Montaigne concluded, after exhaustively cited facts, with the observation: "There is less difference between certain men and certain beasts than there is between certain men and certain other men." And many a century later evolution, tracing its thoughts through the pen of a Huxley, repeated these words literally.

T. O'D. NEW YORK—Craft Unions in the same A. F. of L. International Union who scabbed upon one another?—The Unions in Mahon's organization of street car employees, for instance. When a few years ago the Albany strike was on by the Albany and Troy Locals, the Locals of other towns helped convey the militia to Albany to smash the strike. Any more instances wanted?

"STUDENT," LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The man, who proceeds from the theory that he needs proofs to disprove the unproved statements and wildly uttered charges of the foe, is routed before he starts. The spot man in the field demands on the spot the proof of allegations against him; or the place where the proof can be obtained; and he will nail on the spot as an irresponsible flabbergaster, or as a "Man with the Fur Cap," him who fails to satisfy him in either respect. Any other course would but invite flabbergasterism. One flabbergaster would other-

The Differences BETWEEN THE Socialist Party AND THE Socialist Labor Party ALSO BETWEEN Socialism, Anarchism AND Anti-Political Industrialism BY A. ROSENTHAL Price : : : 10 Cents By Mail, 12 Cents NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO. 23 City Hall Place, New York. If you do not keep a file of the Daily People is doing valiant work for the Socialist Republic.



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Paul Augustine, National Secretary,  
38 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

**CANADIAN S. L. P.** Philip Courtenay,  
National Secretary, 144 Duchess ave-  
nue, London, Ont.

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.**, the  
Party's Literary Agency, 38 City Hall  
Place, N. Y. City.

**NOTICE**—For technical reasons no  
Party announcements can go in that  
are not in this office by Tuesday,  
10 p. m.

**NEW JERSEY S. E. C.**  
Meeting held September 19. Present:  
Magnette, Landgraf, McGarry, Schwenck,  
and Hossack. McGarry chairman.

Correspondence:—From National Sec-  
retary, voting blanks on amendments to  
the Party constitution; Branch Plain-  
field, \$1 for state organizer fund; from  
Branch Elizabeth, 55 cents, balance on  
bill of May 9th; Section Essex County,  
\$3.00 for dues stamps; M. D. Fitzgerald,  
Atlantic City, transferring from 9th and  
11th A. Da, New York, and George A.  
Koenig, Lebanon, application for mem-  
bership and paying six months' dues.  
Fitzgerald and Koenig admitted as  
members-at-large.

Sections Hudson, Essex, Passaic, and  
Union, report county tickets nominated.  
Secretary reported sending to W. E.  
Ross, Town Clerk, Kearney, and to Oscar  
L. Young, copies of resolutions, adopted  
at previous meeting, in re the matter of  
Young.

The attention of the S. E. C. having  
been called to the fact that the Party  
propaganda in the State is not produc-  
tive of readers for the Party press the  
secretary was instructed to urge upon  
the Sections that some effort be made to  
secure readers for the Weekly People.  
Adjournment followed.

John Hossack, Secretary.

**NEW YORK S. E. C.**  
A regular meeting of the New York  
State Executive Committee, Socialist  
Labor Party, was held at the Daily  
People, 38 City Hall Place, New York,  
on September 17, at 8 p. m., with Joseph  
Scheurer in the chair. Present,  
Wilson, Dophous, Johnson, Hiltner and  
Moonelis, and Scheurer. Absent with  
excuse, Kuhn; without excuse, Hanlon  
and Walters.

Minutes of the previous meeting  
adopted as read.  
Secretary reported notifying all  
members to attend meeting; received  
financial report from Section New York  
County; received order for dues stamps  
from Section Monroe County, had let-  
ter from Reinstein, Buffalo, regarding  
his inability to gather signatures, and  
fearing for prospect of filing ticket;  
from Organizer Section Schenectady,  
asking for credit in printing of nom-  
inating blanks; attended to by Sec-  
retary; sent out call for vote on amend-  
ments to Constitution; sent circular  
letter to Organizers at Utica, Syracuse  
and Rochester, notifying them of Wil-  
son's dates; also notified Wilson of  
work; 2,000 leaflets were sent out to  
each of the places to be visited; R.  
Katz sent full report of his recent trip  
through State; Paul Augustine's pre-  
sent trip up-State, at which meetings  
were well attended; bill of \$6.85 pre-  
sented by Augustine, ordered paid. The  
Secretary also reported calling meeting  
of Section Kings County for Satur-  
day, September 18. Secretary's motion  
endorsed.

James J. Hanlon's seat on the com-  
mittee was declared vacant because of  
absence and secretary instructed to no-  
tify the next man on the reserve list.  
Decided that if Wilson have enough  
time left, the Secretary arrange with  
him about extending trip to Buffalo to  
help gather signatures and to further  
propaganda in that neighborhood.  
Meeting adjourned.  
Edmund Moonelis, Secretary.

## OPERATING FUND.

The propaganda contests helped us  
through the summer without much be-  
ing said about this fund. Now, how-  
ever, it is a question of this fund, or  
of a general propaganda that will re-  
sult in subscriptions. Let us have the  
revenue in the shape of subscriptions,  
but revenue you must furnish, some-  
how. If you have not been doing your  
duty by the Movement you can, in a  
measure, make amends, by penalizing  
yourself and sending the amount of  
the penalty to this fund; then get in  
and help push the propaganda. Con-  
tributions the past week were;

W. McFarlane, Lbs. Angeles,	2.15
L. D. Bechtel, Los Angeles,	1.00
L. Mueller, Potholes, Cal. ....	.50
E. Moonelis, New York ....	1.00
F. B. Guarnier, New York ..	2.50
J. K. Spalwin, So. Boston,	1.50
Mass. ....	1.50
C. McCabe, Plymouth, Mass.	1.00
P. Rissman, Elma, Wash. ....	.75
J. M. Canahan, Bellingham,	.39
Wash. ....	
W. K. Stoker, England .....	
Total .....	12.29
Previously acknowledged ..	5,039.07
Grand total .....	\$5,042.36

OPERATING FUND OF "VOLKS-  
FREUND & ARBEITER ZEITUNG."

The following amounts for the Oper-  
ating Fund of the "Volksfreund und  
Arbeiter Zeitung" have been received  
since last report in The People. Only  
such acknowledgements will be sent to  
The People as come from Sections and  
individuals who will look in The People  
for the accounts:

Previously acknowledged .....	43.50
Section Detroit, Mich. ....	2.00
Section Portland, Ore. ....	3.00
Section Boston, Mass., collected	
at meeting .....	1.75
Section Cincinnati, Ohio .....	5.00
Section Elizabeth, N. J. ....	2.20
Section Cleveland, O., proceeds	
from picnic .....	23.50
John Lindgren, Brooklyn, N.Y.	1.00
Section Richmond, Va. ....	3.00
Total .....	\$34.05

Comrades:—The condition of our  
German Party organ has somewhat  
improved, but we are not over the dif-  
ficulties yet and those Sections, com-  
rades and friends, who have not yet  
responded to our appeal are urgently  
requested to do so at once.

Manager,  
"Volksfreund und Arbeiter Zeitung."

## SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA.

An important meeting of Section Al-  
legheny County, Socialist Labor Party,  
will be held SUNDAY, September 26, 3  
p. m. Comrades, if the work of the  
S. L. P. is to be pushed to the full extent  
which conditions warrant it is necessary  
that all members be on hand to assist  
in devising ways and means for same.  
C. A. Rupp, Organizer.

## ORDER IT TO-DAY.

Get the Daily People and keep in daily  
touch with the events of the campaign.  
One dollar pays for a three months' sub-  
scription. Order it to-day.

The Daily People,  
P. O. Box 1576, New York...

## SWEDISH STRIKERS' FUND.

Of the below contributions that of  
Peter Faber was sent in for the McKees  
Rocks Strikers' Fund, but inasmuch as  
the strike is over, it has been turned over  
to "Arbetaren," Swedish S. L. P. paper,  
to be sent to the striking workers of  
Sweden.

Peter Faber, Kent, Ohio .....	\$2.00
S. Schwartzman, New York .....	1.00
Latishia Socialist Labor Federa- tion .....	\$ 4.80
Collected by M. Brayer as fol- lows: Wolf, 50c.; Loithard, 50c.; Brand, 50c.; Brayer, 50c.; Schlesberg, 25c.; Friedmald, 25c.; M. Katz, 15c.; Geldzaler, 15c.; Hegel, 25c.; Hakel, 15c.; Brunbaum, 25c.; H. Kegel, 25c. I. Katz, 15c.; Lettsen Bros, 50c. Mrs. Hamabel, 25c.; H. Gans, 15c.; L. Gold, 50c. ....	5.25

Any further contributions to the above  
fund should be sent direct to "Arbetar-  
en," 28 City Hall place. L. C. Frana.

SOCIAL, VISITING, AND  
BUSINESS CARDS

Equal to engraved, 60c. per 100, includ-  
ing card case; 500 cards \$1.25; 1,000  
\$1.85, postpaid. PEARL BARRON,  
138 Washington Ave., Scranton, Pa.

When patronizing those who advert  
in the Daily People fall not to tell them  
that you saw their advertisement in the  
Daily People.

## AS TO METHODS

Present Mode of Propaganda Is Not  
Resulting in Subscriptions.

During the past week we received  
eight yearly subscriptions to the Week-  
ly People from Phoenix, Ariz. The  
previous week we received from the  
same town four yearlies and two half  
yearlies, fourteen in two weeks. Propa-  
ganda work of the right kind is betna  
carried on in Phoenix.

From Muncie, Ind., we received \$2.25,  
for six subscriptions; from Cle Elem,  
Wash., \$3.50, for five subscriptions; and  
from Altoona, Pa., \$1.50 for three sub-  
scriptions.  
Now let us look at the big industrial  
centers, where we have organization,  
what did they do? New York, one  
subscription; Brooklyn, N. Y., none;  
Detroit, Mich., none; Indianapolis, Ind.,  
none; Jersey City, none; Paterson, N. J.,  
none; Cincinnati, O., none; Mil-  
waukee, Wis., none, and thus it goes.  
It means either that the propaganda  
is not being carried on, or is not being  
conducted along right lines, else the  
subscription record would surely be dif-  
ferent.

Subscriptions are to be had; that is  
being proved daily. The sub-getting  
contests proved it. Getting readers for  
the Party press is the mode of propa-  
ganda pre-eminent and systematic ef-  
fort along this line should be the first  
concern of each and every Section.  
We are organized to spread the light,  
let us get to work and do it.

Those sending two or more readers  
were:

J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz. ....	8
A. Ralph, San Francisco, Cal. ....	2
Section Denver, Colo. ....	2
F. Knotek, Hartford, Conn. ....	7
C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn. ..	3
G. Langner, Milford, Conn. ....	2
E. T. Holmes, Chicago, Ill. ....	2
N. Reihmer, Chicago, Ill. ....	2
P. Brock, Muncie, Ind. ....	6
C. Piersan, Louisville, Ky. ....	16
L. Platt, Attleboro, Mass. ....	3
W. E. McCue, St. Paul, Minn. ....	2
H. Johnson, St. Paul, Minn. ....	3
J. Scheidler, St. Louis Mo. ....	3
F. Brown, Cleveland, O. ....	12
J. Schmiedle, Cleveland, O. ....	2
W. O. Nelson, Altoona, Pa. ....	3
W. H. Carroll, Pittsburg, Pa. ....	4
E. F. Putnam, Cle Elem, Wash. ..	5
A. Gillhaus, Seattle, Wash. ....	4

## LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The new catalogue is ready. Send  
for one.

The "Casque's Lark," the next Sue-  
story to appear in book form, is in the  
hands of the binder.

De Leon's address on "Woman's Sur-  
frage" is going through the press.

## ANSWERS AN EDITOR.

(Continued from page 2.)

peting with him, the workingman's wag-  
es must necessarily go down. So, that  
under the present capitalist social sys-  
tem the family life is destroyed; the  
mother is forced to leave home and en-  
ter the factory, there to compete with  
the father and very often her own chil-  
dren.

What kind of family life can flourish  
under such conditions? And the men  
who "fear" that Socialism would abolish  
the family, apologize for the system that  
is actually destroying the family to-day.

It is not true that the majority of  
us can or have the opportunity to ap-  
ply ourselves to that calling for which  
we are best fitted. The thought which  
holds the central arena of action is: At  
what trade can most money be made?  
And to that which he hopes will net  
golden gains to that he takes to. Hence  
we see many persons adopting them-  
selves to that which will assure them  
more money—regardless of talent.

Further still we find many workers  
who are only too glad to enable them to  
gain the necessities of life, irrespective  
as to what vocation they are really fit-  
ted for.

Circumstances to-day wholly deter-  
mine for the average man what he  
should or should not do. Life is not  
what we make it, it is made for us by  
circumstantial forces more potent than  
our volition and abilities. This force  
I do not attribute to a wilful Divine.  
It can be traced to those "captains of  
industry" who know what they do and  
therefore we cannot forgive them.

Capitalism and Socialism are diamet-  
rically opposed for the simple reason that  
the interests of the appropriating class  
are inimical to the interests of the pro-  
ducing class, hence the class struggle.

on earth—is heard and felt and will soon  
be understood.

Those who wish an unbiased view of  
capitalism and Socialism, a more effective  
and well connected argument on the  
fallacies of the former and logic of the  
latter, should not content themselves  
with the mere rattler of a newspaper to  
dominate their prejudices, but investi-  
gate for themselves.

## A WORD.

(Continued from page two.)

capacity does not prevent them from ex-  
ploiting the helpless victims of capi-  
talism, uninformed workmen.

Its principles are fixed by the exigi-  
ency of raising the organizer's fee. Its  
motto is "Hallelujah, I am a bum." Its  
political form, competition to organized  
capitalist charity.

It carries the germ of its own de-  
struction in its make-up. Leave it to  
its fate, to demonstrate that mere  
honesty and good intentions are in-  
sufficient to free the working class  
from wage slavery.

Every industrial unionist and every  
organization of the Industrial Workers  
of the World, who recognized the need  
of the hour that this conspiracy im-  
posed upon them, had no choice but set  
to work to develop the organs that the  
conspiracy robbed the body of.

On November 5, 1908, a conference  
assembled in Paterson, N. J., of dele-  
gates sent by the locals that remained  
true to the principles of the Industrial  
Workers of the World. They attended  
to the interrupted work of the general  
organization, electing a General Ex-  
ecutive Board and other officials, and  
attended to such other work as the  
organization required for its growth  
and progress.

No worker who has the least knowl-  
edge of the difficulties which, under or-  
dinary conditions, a labor organization  
has to overcome, needs any detailed  
explanation of how the confusion and  
pessimism resulting from that treachery  
made rapid progress impossible. It  
brought to its full significance the  
words uttered on the third day of the  
first convention: "A task in the pres-  
ence of which weak men will falter and  
despair, but from which it is impos-  
sible to shrink without betraying the  
working class." When it is impossible  
at a given time to be large and strong,  
it is no shame to be small and weak.  
The soundness of principle and the  
correctness of the form of an organ-  
ization are not determined by num-  
bers. The conditions under which it  
must work decide that.

All workingmen and women who  
recognize that the development of class  
consciousness is essential to effectively  
fight for their interests, who recognize  
that the political and industrial organ-  
izations are the means to that end,  
have no alternative but to take their  
place in the Industrial Workers of the  
World.

Individually, the worker is an atom.  
Collectively they are the world.

The only source from which the  
worker can expect relief, is his own  
strength and power, which the solidar-  
ity of class organization can develop.  
To aid the worker to free himself  
from the paralyzing influence and the  
corrupting effect of the shallowness  
of capitalist economics, and the ethi-  
cal notions that grow out of them, the  
industrial union is necessary.

The acquiring of the knowledge of  
the factors as well as of the laws that  
control economic and social conditions,  
is possible by collective, mutual, in-  
struction, and by an opportunity of  
practical application.

To organize the workers wherever  
they are exploited, regardless of na-  
tionality, creed, color, or sex, into a  
local of the Industrial Workers of the  
World, is the duty of every awakened  
wage slave.

The only condition for admission,  
is the worker's willingness to acquire  
the information which enables him to  
follow the dictation and requirements  
of the collective interest of the work-  
ing class.

Through the organization, the ethi-  
cal conception, growing out of the  
workers social status and aspiration,  
will become an auxiliary force that  
will unmask the fakir and charlatan  
who sap the workers' vitality and de-  
stroy the work of the capitalist class, under  
the pretense of upholding and defend-  
ing the workers' interests.

Recognizing that to the political class  
organization must be added the in-  
dustrial class organization, to develop  
the precious quality, class conscious-  
ness, in all its embracing and conquer-  
ing greatness, we organize on these  
lines.

It is the one thing the capitalist class  
cannot imitate. It is the force that  
makes ineffective their schemes and  
corruptions.

It illuminates the way to speedy  
victory over capitalism.

Fellow workers, rally to the stand-  
ard of your class, the Industrial Work-

ers of the World. It cannot be crush-  
ed. It lives and grows until it has  
fulfilled its mission, that caused it to  
be born.

How hard the road, how difficult the  
work, the collective working class is  
equal to the task.

Each worker must contribute, his  
share, there are none privileged in this  
war, knowing that an enlightened, or-  
ganized proletariat is the positive force  
necessary to secure the golden fruit of  
better conditions in life, and the de-  
struction of the hell of capitalism.

Education, Organization, Emancipa-  
tion, the stars of our emblem. The  
future is ours.

Charles E. Trainor,  
Herman Richter,  
Robert McLure,

General Executive Board of the In-  
dustrial Workers of the World.

For further information address: H.  
Richter, General Secretary-Treasurer,  
Hamtramck, Mich.

## SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish  
standing advertisements of Section head-  
quarters, or other permanent announce-  
ments. The charge will be five dollars a  
year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P.  
Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Fed-  
eration, Lettonian Socialist Labor Fed-  
eration, 49 Dubose avenue.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and  
public reading room at 317 East Sev-  
enth street. Public educational meetings  
Sunday evenings. People readers are  
invited to our rooms and meetings.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O.,  
S. L. P., at 1808 Elm street. General  
Committee meets every second and  
fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and  
Hungarian educational meetings every  
Wednesday and Sunday. Open every  
night.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets  
first and third Sunday of the month at 3  
p. m. at Headquarters, 1360 Ontario  
street, near St. Clair avenue.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets  
every first Saturday in the month at  
8 p. m. Headquarters, 815 Hamilton  
street.

Section Hartford, Conn., meets every  
second Wednesday in the month at  
8 p. m. at Headquarters, 34 Elm street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st.,  
room 8. Regular meetings second and  
fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Com-  
mittee, S. L. P.—John Hossack, Secretary,  
22 Fulton ave., Jersey City; Fred. Gerold,  
Financial Secretary, 102 Waverly st.,  
Jersey City, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois—The 14th Ward  
Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets  
every first and third Friday, 8 p. m., at  
Friedman's Hall, Grand and Western  
avenues. Workingmen and women in-  
vited.

Headquarters Section Seattle, Sullivan  
Building, 712 First avenue, Room 207.  
P. O. Box 1854. Propaganda meetings  
every Sunday, 8 p. m., Maccabee Hall,  
corner 4th and Pine streets.

All communications intended for the  
Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed  
to Herbert Johnson, 475 Como avenue,  
St. Paul, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds  
a business meeting every second and  
fourth Sunday in the month at 10 a. m.  
at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash  
streets.

Section Denver meets every 1st and  
3rd Thursday each month, at Hall 401  
Club Building, 1731 Arapahoe street.  
People readers invited. Agent of Party  
organs, Al. Wernet, Hotel Carlton, 15th  
and Glenarm streets.

If you wish to keep well posted up  
in happenings in Great Britain  
and the progress of Industrial  
Unionism there, read the official  
organ of the British Advocate of  
Industrial Unionism—

"THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST"

Yearly subscription for U. S. A. or  
Canada, 35c.

Half-yearly subscription, 18c.

Advocates Revolutionary Unionism  
without Affiliation to Any  
Political Party.

Address:—  
Business Manager, S. WALKER,  
c/o Wm. G. Allan, G. S. T.  
Springfield Cottage,  
Hapwood, Heywood,  
near Manchester, England.

## SEND 35 CENTS

And get The Ideal City, Cloth, 377  
Pages, and

Flashlights of the Amsterdam Con-  
gress, Paper, 167 pages.

Both will be sent postpaid for 35 cents.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
38 CITY HALL PLACE,  
NEW YORK.

## PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor  
Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the Nation-  
al Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assem-  
bled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and  
the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to  
every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experi-  
ence we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the ma-  
jority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present  
system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of  
THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery  
of government must be controlled by the whole people; but  
again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true  
theory of economics is that the means of production must like-  
wise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in com-  
mon. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the  
pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and  
the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his lib-  
erty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those  
essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory  
of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic  
system—the private ownership of the natural and social oppor-  
tunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist  
Class and the Working Class; throws society into the con-  
volutions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the  
exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces,  
is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory  
idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of  
life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the  
banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of  
the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social  
evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its  
failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive ten-  
dencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the  
other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to  
organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a  
class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to con-  
quer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place  
themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class in-  
terests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human  
emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing  
barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means  
of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of  
the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-opera-  
tive Commonwealth for the present state of planless production,  
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